

M. Gasler

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THE
ART
OF
GOVERNING
BY
PARTIES.

— *En quo Discordia Civis
Perduxit Miseros!*

VIRG.

“ A King can never lessen himself more, than by heading of a Party ; for thereby he becomes only the King of a Faction, and ceases to be the common Father of his People.”

EXTR.

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TO THE
GENUINE SONS
OF
LIBERTY.

D*IVIDE & Impera* appears to have been the standing Maxim with all Politicians, as well antient as modern, who have aimed at Arbitrary Power: Tyranny neither ever has prevailed, nor ever could introduce itself into any State, where the People were united in the real Interest of their Country. It were to little Purpose to adduce Instances in Proof of this Truth from the Annals of *Greece* or *Rome*; our own History furnishes but too many melancholy Evidences that the same Measures have been but too often attempted in this Island of Freedom. Let the History of *England* be examined with real Impartiality, and let Candour determine, whether

in every Reign, from the alleged Conquest by WILLIAM the *First*, 'till the seafoable Invocation upon WILLIAM the *Third*, Endeavours were not used to abridge the Privileges of the Subject, and to extend the Prerogative of the Crown.

In the earlier Period the naturally *martial* Spirit of the People was indulged, and they were amused with foreign Conquests: In the pacifick, inglorious Reign, of *James the First*, Theology was applied to the Use of Politicks: The DIVINITY of KINGS, and the SANCTIMONY of MINISTERS were inculcated as implicit Articles of Faith. A too great Fondness for these Doctrines, proved the Destruction of his immediate Successor; nor did the fatal Catastrophe of the Father serve for a sufficient Admonition to his Sons: No sooner had they resumed the Reins of Power, after a dreadful Anarchy, but they attempted to effect by Stratagem what their Predecessors had endeavoured by Violence, whereby the younger Brother lost the Dominion of three opulent Kingdoms.

At so interesting a Crisis, when the Preservation of Freedom, or a Submission to Slavery, was the only Question, to whom could a People, ever tenacious of the former, so properly apply, as to a Prince, who had remarkably distinguished himself in the Cause of Liberty? An oppressed People in-
treated

treated his Assistance to avert their threatened Dangers, and he graciously complied with the Invitation.

This may be justly called the genuine Epocha of *British* Liberty: That the natural Privileges of the Subject should be no longer open to Violation seemed now the particular Care of all true Patriots; several good Laws were obtained, and if the Power of the Crown was not then put under stricter Limitations, it may be presumed to have proceeded from a Principle of Gratitude certainly due to a Prince, who had manifestly delivered us from the worst of Evils, Tyranny and Popery. This, I say, may reasonably be presumed, seeing when, upon the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester* it was thought prudent to provide for the further Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, it was at the same Time deemed necessary, *that farther Provision be FIRST made, for the Security of the Rights and Liberties of the People.*

It must undoubtedly be admitted that the Intentions of King *William* were upright, generous, and honourable; that in all his Actions he consulted the Tranquility, Interest and Dignity of the State. But notwithstanding his Wisdom and Moderation, a Spirit of Faction too much prevailed; the Disaffected and Disappointed, were active to improve every Occasion of Discontent among

mong the People : Nay, even some of the most sincere Friends, both to the King and their Country, saw with Concern a partial, and, not always judicious, Distribution of Favours ; nor could they help complaining that the Royal Ear was open to only a few, and among those, some that were not esteemed either the most able, or the most honest, Counsellors. The Infraction of the Peace of *Ryswick* by the *French*, whereby the Kingdom was about to be involved in a new War, displeased almost all Ranks, raised a violent Storm against the Advisers and Negotiators of that Treaty, and furnished Party-Zealots with an Opportunity to propagate the Seeds of Discord.

It was about this Time, [in 1701] that the following Performance was first offered to the Publick : Its Design clearly is to reconcile the Affections of the Subjects to their Sovereign, and to shew the reciprocal Duties of both to each other. Whether it bears any, or, what Analogy with any modern Transactions, the Reader will be able to determine for himself.

Our Author appears to be the Slave of no Party ; he seems to have thoroughly considered his Subject, which he introduces with the following manly, yet modest, Address to his Royal Master.

May

May it please your Majesty,

It has been always counted the greatest Happiness of Princes to be acquainted with the Sentiments of their Subjects, for want of which the best of them have often taken wrong Measures, which made their Actions produce very different Effects from their good Intentions: Not that the People affect to hide their Thoughts (their Complaints being generally represented louder, than their Grievances owned to be hard) but Flatterers are ready to persuade Kings that nothing can be amiss during their Reigns; evil or insufficient Counsellors dare not reveal the bad Consequences of their own unapproved Ministry; and where a Nation is divided into Parties, that Side, who is in Possession of the Royal Favour, will suffer none to approach the Throne that would discover the Severities they exercise on their Adversaries. 'Tis not to be doubted, SIRE, but you have all the Information of this sort, that a Prince of such finished Wisdom and Experience can judge necessary; yet the Writer of the following Treatise could not think it unbecoming his Duty to present it to your Majesty, having there, with all possible Freedom and Impartiality, presumed to lay before you the true State of your Subjects as to their contrary Interests and Affections. It will easily appear (but principally, it is hoped, to your Majesty) that the chief Aim of the Author

thor was to do the most acceptable Service to his Country in this critical Juncture; and yet he questions not but one Sort of People will be displeased with him for having done Justice to your unparalleled Zeal for Liberty (a Thing so unusual with crown'd Heads) and which they are as sorry should be known, as unable to conceal: While another Set of Men will be still more offended, because he is not an humble Prostitute after their Example, and for touching on those Miscarriages whereof they know themselves to deserve the Blame, though they are ungratefully striving to charge them elsewhere. But if your Majesty is pleased to approve of this small Essay, as intended for your Service, he will expect no other Reward but to see a better Reformation practised than he was capable to propose; his Happiness being necessarily involved in the common Good, and without it no Condition of Life being honourable, satisfactory, or secure.



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THE
ART of GOVERNING.
BY
PARTIES.

CHAP. I.

The Author's Apology and Design.

IN the Prosecution of this Discourse, some People may think that I speak more freely than in Prudence I ought to do ; while others will be apt to censure me as acting out of my Sphere, and meddling in Matters which are none of my Concerns : but one thing I dare undertake and promise, that all unbiassed Readers will think me impartial ; and I know myself to be neither aw'd by Hopes or Fears, nor gain'd by Favour or Bribes. Tho' all do not sit at the Helm, yet each Person on board is equally interested about the Preservation of
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the Ship, and may give fair Warning of those Rocks and Shelves, which are not apprehended nor observed by others. Every Man is bound to assist his Country by his Advice, as well as by his Purse, or the use of his Arm; and as the collective Body of the Government is made up of many Individuals, so whatever is proposed for the Honour, Profit, or Safety of the whole, must still originally proceed from some one Man, whether in the Parliament, Council, Cabiner, or after the manner I presume to do at present: and so the matter is submitted to the Approbation or Dislike of the greater number. This has been always an allowed Custom in *England*, at which none were ever displeased but such as were conscious of their own Demerits, and had no Stomach to hear their Crimes divulged for fear of Punishment or Disgrace. As for so openly telling my Mind, it is the honestest way of Dealing; whereas obscure Hints and artificial Disguises are generally interpreted beyond what the Author ever intended: for what one seems afraid of saying plainly and directly, is thought by others to be nought beyond Expression. Nor am I without that due Regard which every one ought to have for his own Preservation; but I know where I am, and what I assert. I deliver nothing but the naked Truth, which is the strongest, and consequently the boldest thing in the World. I live in a free Government, where Men may vent their Thoughts secure from the Dread of Informers; represent their Grievances, yet not be counted factious; and expect Redress, without claiming more than their due. We have known Rules and stated Measures of our Actions. Every Man has the same



same Right to his Property as the Magistrate to the Execution of his Office : and the meanest Countryman has his Action and Remedy at Law against the King no less than against any of his Fellow-Subjects. In these and the like Privileges consists a great part of our Happiness above theirs, who at no extraordinary distance from us groan under the Yoke of absolute Dominion. There the Will of the Prince being his Law, the Judges are obliged to interpret it solely for his Interest, without any respect to the Hardships endured by private Men, when they interfere with the Pleasure of their Master. There the People are beggarly and slavish, but the Monarch is great and mighty, the prime Nobility and Gentry being reduced to depend on his Liberality, the stoutest of the Commons forced to serve in his Troops for Bread, and all degrees of Persons made the Instruments of gratifying his Vanity, Rapaciousness, or Lust. In the mean time his Clergy, Army, and Officers of State are finely pamper'd, and make a flourishing Shew, while the rest of his miserable Subjects languish and decay : for he awes their Consciences by his Priests, compels their Bodies by his Soldiers, and drains their Purses by his Ministers ; who all consequently share the Spoil with him as necessary Tools for his Purpose, and a Reward of their Iniquity. Now because no Complaints dare to be heard in *France* or *Denmark*, will any body say, that nothing's amiss there ? Is their Unity so much to be admired, when they must not use their Reason to examine, and that they agree even about their religious Tenets as Men do about Colours in the dark. Heaven be praised this is not our

Condition. I write within the reach of no Tyrant ; but under the Wings of a valiant, wise, and just Prince, who is pleased with nothing so much as being circumscrib'd by the Laws, lest for all his upright Intentions he should be mistaken in his Duty. Whenever therefore he is engaged in bad Counsels (as there is no absolute Perfection of Men or Things) he is no sooner made sensible of his Error, but he presently changes his Measures, and denies nothing to the Nation, which they earnestly desire and think indispensably necessary for their Prosperity and Safety. The many excellent Laws, to which (after some previous Hesitation) he has agreed, are an undeniable Proof of his good Disposition, if we knew how to improve it ; witness the Acts for Triennial Parliaments, for regulating Trials of High-Treason, concerning Mines and Ores, the late Law for Resumptions, those against Standing Armies, and several besides. It were to be wished, I confess, that the extreme Lenity of his Temper did not hinder him from shewing greater Marks of his Displeasure against those who have sometimes unworthily abused his Favour, exasperated the best part of the Nation against them for breaking their Trust, and tempted many well meaning Persons to have an ill Opinion of the public Administration. Seasonable and exemplary Justice on such wicked Men could not fail both of clearing himself from all ill-grounded Jealousies, and of effectually discouraging others in the same Stations from imitating the vicious Courses of their Predecessors. Yet in Excuse of this, it must be owned, that such Criminals have not only the Secret of evading the Censure of the Law, but
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that they even have frequently grown above fearing his Majesty's Animadversion; combining together, and linking themselves into such powerful Factions, that none of their Number must be touched without disoblising the whole Party, which is not always safe tho' never so just. 'Tis observed, that after a good Government is destroyed, its expiring Virtue procures some Credit to the beginning of the succeeding Tyranny; in like Manner the general Depravation of Morals contracted under the Reign of one or more Tyrants, cannot be immediately reformed by the utmost Vigilance of a virtuous Prince, which makes it no strange thing if some dark Clouds are observed to eclipse the Lustre of his Management. He is therefore much to be pitied, if he cannot discern the Men who are not less able than willing to serve him faithfully; and then only to be blamed, when he industriously picks out the worst, or makes an honest Man turn Knave before he is capable to do his Business. Of all the Plagues which have infested this Nation since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, none has spread the Contagion wider, or brought us nearer to utter Ruin, than the implacable Animosity of contending Parties. Tho' 'tis a thing never to be expected (nor perhaps so desirable as some may fancy) that all men should agree about all things; yet it is the most wicked Master-piece of Tyranny, purposely to divide the Sentiments, Affections, and Interests of a People, that after they have mutually spent their Force against one another, they may the more easily become a common Prey to Arbitrary Power. There have been many opposite Factions in *England* heretofore, partly occasioned by dubious Titles to

the Crown, partly to restrain the Exorbitancy of some Kings who invaded Liberty, and all Men continued uneasy till by Persuasion or Force such Quarrels were adjusted. But till the Accession of the *Stuarts* to the Imperial Throne of this Realm, we never knew *the Art of Governing by Parties*. It was set on foot among us by the first of that Race, and was daily improving under his Successor, till at last it fatally turned on himself, and deprived him both of his Crown and Life. But because this execrable Policy was brought to Perfection under *Charles* the Second, I shall display some of its worst Effects in his Reign, and the dismal Influence it has on all our Affairs even at this time. As soon as this King was restored to sit in the Saddle of his Ancestors, he wholly applied his Thoughts (as he intended long before) to establish Popery and despotic Power on the Ruins of our Religion and Liberty. The Revenge he owed his Father's Death, together with the Remembrance of his particular Sufferings, contributed not a little to alienate his Heart from all Tenderness for the *English*: but he was fixed in his arbitrary Designs, by the Example of Foreign Princes; and reconciled to the *Roman* Faith by the Authority of his Mother, the Importunity of the Priests, and his own vitious Inclination. A few of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who accompanied him in his Exile, knew of this Change; the most quick-sighted sort of People at home had violent Suspicions of it; but he never thought fit quite to take off the Mask till he came to die, and that his usual Dissimulation could do him no farther Service. Popery and Slavery being the two great Blessings he intended to intail upon us and our Posterity,

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as they were the chief Motives of his Actions, so they are the only Keys by which we can decypher the Mysteries of his Reign. He could not hope to persuade or force a Compliance from a free Nation, and the Head of the Protestant Interest: What he was not able to compass therefore by open Violence, he attempted with much success by secret Fraud. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* This is the true Spring of all those pernicious Divisions, Names of Distinction, Parties, Factions, Clubs, and Cabals, which have ever since distracted, torn, and very nigh consumed us. High and low Churchmen, Conformists and Fanaticks, Whigs and Tories, Loyalists and Rebels, Patriots and Courtiers, with the like opprobrious Nick-names, are the abominable Fruits of his Policy. My Business is not to write the History of his Reign, but to give a succinct Account of the Parties he created for our Destruction, and the malignant Influence they have at this very time on our Government. Wherefore I shall consider them, as in the first place they respect our Religion, secondly our Politicks, thirdly the High Court of Parliament, fourthly inferior Courts of Judicature, and fifthly the Ministers of State. I'll make no separate Head of our Morals, because they were debauched, not only by the Pattern shew'd us at Court, but also by a Concurrence of many Causes to be mentioned under the foregoing Heads. In the next place, I'll briefly shew what ill Effects those Parties have now on the People in general, the King in particular, and all our Affairs abroad. Lastly, as a Prevention or perfect Cure of this Distemper, I'll offer some Advice about the Election of Members fit to represent and serve the Nation in Parliament.

C H A P. II.

The Art of Governing by Parties in Religion.

TIS not more common (nor indeed more natural) for Men to vary from one another in the Colour of their Hair, the Air of their Face, or the Measure of their Stature, than it is for them to disagree in their Opinions (whether relating to Religion or any other Subject) by reason of their different Opportunities, Applications or Capacities, and that Things are not placed in the same Degree of Light to all sorts of People. Nobody wonders that he has not the same Taste or Fancy with others; nay, he'll make Allowance for it in Eating or Drinking, in chusing a Mistress, a House, a Suit of Cloaths; and yet he's apt to be amazed or angry that every one is not of the same Religion with himself, which makes him (like the Tyrant of old) for stretching or cutting all the World to his own Size. Mens Actions are never more inconsistent than in this Point; for they all naturally desire a Liberty of Worshipping in that Way which they believe to be most acceptable to the Deity, and they think it the highest Injustice to be denied this Privilege by any Government; but they are no sooner grown the reigning Party themselves, than they fall to persecute all that dissent from them; and so in their several Turns, as every Party happens to get uppermost, they tolerate no other Religion, because they think their own to be the best.

best. I am not examining now the Equity or Injustice of this Procedure, but barely relating Matters of Fact. The Established Church of *England* laid very great Hardships on the Nonconformists before the last Civil Wars; and the Nonconformists paid the Churchmen home in their own Coin with Interest, when they got the Power into their Hands. The Church being restored again with the Monarchy, *Charles* the Second was too well acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, to let an Opportunity slip which made so much for the Game he design'd to play; and therefore pretending a wonderful Zeal for the Hierarchy, he animated the *Bishops* (who were prone enough to Revenge, on the Account of their late Sufferings) to oppress and extirpate the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers* and *Protestant Dissenters* of all sorts. In the mean time, the Compliance of these being feared above all things, it was rendered wholly impossible by the hard Terms which were offer'd them. He perfectly knew their main Scruples against Conformity, and having a Parliament of the same Temper with his Clergy, he got such Oaths, Tests, and Declarations framed, as he was sure they could never swallow, which would necessitate them (as in Effect it did) to form themselves into a separate Party, and, notwithstanding their private Dissentions, to unite together for their common Liberty against the Court and the Church. All this while he made the Clergy believe that it was his Affection to them which produc'd those Severities against their Enemies, frightening them from Time to Time with his Apprehensions lest Presbytery should ever prevail again: Nor
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was he less industrious with the *Royalists*, to keep the *Commonwealth-Men* under. And, in order to secure them both, he pretended that they could not invest him with too great a Power, declaring, that no body must expect to partake of his Favour who was not a good *Church-man* as well as a true *Royalist*; and that all others were Rebels in their Hearts, only waiting for a fit Occasion to destroy both Church and State. The Pulpits immediately sounded with nothing else but *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* to all the King's Commands, of what Nature soever, under Pain of Eternal Damnation; that if our Property, Religion, or Lives should be attacked by him, we must have recourse to no Defence but Prayers and Tears; and that Monarchy as well as Episcopacy was of Divine Right; with the like extravagant Doctrines. In short, the poor Dissenters were used like Dogs, prohibited to meet together for Divine Worship, exposed to the Scorn and Rage of the Mob, crowded and starved in Goals, some forced, and some flying into foreign Countries, to the inexpressible Damage of Trade, dispeopling the Kingdom, and diminishing the Public Revenues. But above all, the *Protestant* Interest was daily weakened by such as most pretended (and most of them, no doubt, design'd) to support it; for the mistaken Zeal of some, and the restless Ambition of others among the dignified Clergy, deluded the Herd of their Admirers. At length the continual Encroachments made on the Civil Constitution, under Pretence of suppressing *Fanaticks*, and the barefac'd Countenance given at the same time to avow'd *Papists*, (being received

ceived into the chiefeſt Truſt and Confidence) open'd all Mens Eyes, and diſcovered the black Deſigns of the Court. The Laity grew weary of being the Drudges of the Clergy to ruin innocent People, very devout in their way, true to the Liberties of their Country, and irreconcilable Enemies of Popery. *It is certainly, ſays the Duke of Buckingham in the Houſe of Lords, a very uneasy kind of Life to any Man, that has either Chriſtian Charity, Good-Nature, or Humanity, to ſee his Fellow-Subjects daily abuſed, divested of their Liberties and Birth-rights, and miſerably thrown out of their Poſſeſſions and Freeholds, only becauſe they cannot agree with ſome others in Opinions and Niceties of Religion, to which their Conſciences will not give them leave to aſſent, and which, even by the Conſent of thoſe who would impoſe them, are no way neceſſary to Salvation.* When the Generality of the People began to utter their Complaints in ſuch Language as this, and that the beſt Men on all Sides were for mutually tolerating one another, or coming into a ſtricter Union, then the ſubtle King, finding it made for his Purpoſe, would be the firſt to grant Diſſenters Liberty, and even to diſpenſe with the Penal Laws in their Favour. By this means he hoped to *kill two Birds with one Stone*: For by the ſame diſpenſing Prerogative he could recal this Toleration at his Pleaſure; but (what was the main Thing aim'd at) he could as well repeal all other Laws, if he were allowed to ſuſpend any one by his own Authority. He doubted not but the Diſſenters would accept of Eaſe on any Terms, though he found himſelf miſtaken: For ſuch of
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them as happened to be Members of Parliament, opposed this suspending Power the fiercest of any, and the Monarch plainly betrayed his own Plot, since he could never be induc'd to confirm their Liberty by Laws, which the Parliament seemed willing to enact; as there was one Bill expressly passed both Houses to this Purpose, but stolen or mislaid by his Order, when he ought to have given it his Assent. On the contrary, when he heard that there was a Project of Comprehension on foot, he asked the Archbishop, whether he was for it, who replying, he had heard of such a Thing; *No*, said the King, *I'll keep the Church of England pure and unmixt*. But I cannot so well excuse the Conduct of the Dissenters in the Reign of his Successor. No Popish Prince in the World did ever suffer Heretics (as they call them) to live peaceably in his Dominions, but when he wanted Power to deal with them: Now King *James* not being able to dragoon his Protestant Subjects, nor to bring them by Shoals to *Smithfield*, was resolv'd, in Imitation of his pious Brother, to dash them in Pieces against one another. All the moderate Part of the Church of *England* had endeavoured to exclude him from the Crown, or to frustrate his tyrannical Designs; and at last, the mistaken Zealots themselves, with the High-flyers for Court-Favour and Preferment, whose Bigottry and Violence brought the Nation within an Ace of its Ruin; when they saw all Civil and Military Posts filling with Papists, and that after they had performed his Drudgery, they might turn or burn, as they liked, for they were not the Priests he minded to exalt: All these, I say, were now
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for Resistance, as much as ever they were for Obedience before; nothing was heard, but *the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*; and their Cry reached even into *Holland*. The grateful Prince desired no better, being glad at Heart to be rid in such a manner of those whose infinite Obligations he never intended to repay; and so he very unexpectedly turns all his Favour towards the Dissenters, whom he mortally hated during his whole Life, and was the principal Author of their Miseries. Though this preposterous Kindness cozened very few of them, yet who now but they? None more admitted into his Privacy, their former Persecutions solely laid to the Charge of the Bishops, who were grown the most rebellious and worst of Men, while just on the sudden a Fanatick was the most loyal and peaceable Creature on Earth, next to a Papist. To crown the Work, he assumes the Power of dispensing with the Penal Laws of every Kind, and in spite of all Tests, employs both Papists and Dissenters in Offices of Trust and Honour. All wise Men saw, that the Advancement of Popery was the only Thing at bottom, while one Parry of Protestants were cajoul'd till they had helped to ruin the other, and might then enjoy the gracious Favour of being last destroy'd themselves. I am far from blaming the Dissenters for meeting in Public to perform their Worship; whatever was designed by the King, they were bound to do their Duty whenever they had Opportunity: But I absolutely condemn such as made Addresses to him on this Account, or accepted Offices in Corporations, which was in plain Truth to thank him for governing without Law, and to act by Virtue of his

his arbitrary Power. 'Tis true, the Bulk of Dissenters abhorred these Proceedings of their Brethren, their Enemies themselves being Judges; and though *Pen, Lob, Alsop*, and a few like them, were Favourites in the Closet, were disown'd therein by the best of their several Communion. For my part, setting the Virtues and Failings of both Sides in a just Parallel, I am of Opinion, that neither of them ought to reproach the other, nor unmeasurably to overvalue themselves; I mean, with respect to one another: For as they have each of them been Persecutors and Persecuted, and that the *Church* defended the Protestant Religion from the Pulpit and the Press against King *James*, as the Dissenters did our Civil Liberty against King *Charles*; so both of them have hitherto unanimously maintain'd our Religion by their Wealth, Swords, and Pens, under the auspicious Conduct of King *William*, the unfeign'd Protector of both. The Body of the Church was always right, and the Dissenters have now got that Liberty established by a Law, which every honest Man wished them from his Heart before. The People of both Sides are disposed to be quiet, as long as their Priests will let them: They think not a Jot the worse of one another, for not walking the same Way to Church on *Sunday*, because they joined Company the *Saturday* before to Market: They judge of one another's Honesty by their Dealings, and not from their Notions: Trade is vigorously carryed on without Distinction: Other Protestants dare venture now to settle among us, and not, as formerly, shun our inhospitable Shore: No Man is forced to inform against his Neighbour, or to disturb his own Relations: Both Sides are under

der mutual (and I hope indissoluble) Ties of Marriages, Interests, and Friendship ; and, in one word, we all enjoy the incomparable Blessings of Unity, Peace, and Liberty. I once met with a Person who profess'd himself amaz'd to find so many *Englishmen*, in the late Reigns, endeavouring to subvert our Constitution ; but, I think, there's greater Reason to wonder, that, after what has pass'd, there could be found one Man, who entertained a Design of repealing the Toleration : And yet not a few such there be, Men tainted with the old Leven, who maintain a profound Respect for their old Master, and are secret Admirers of the old Whore of *Babylon*. I'll not insist on their ill-natur'd Grumbings ever since this Revolution, nor the little Arts they have copied from the Royal Brothers (and which they have been striving to put in Practice these last two or three Years) I mean, their attacking the *Quakers* first, as the weakest Party, thinking they will be abandoned by all the rest, who sooner or later must expect to fall under the same Condemnation ; but let no Man help to fire his Neighbour's House, that loves the Safety of his own. At this very time there is more than ordinary Talk of this Affair, and some Candidates for Places in Parliament being exalted with chimerical Hopes, or thinking to gratify a certain warm Set of Gentlemen, make large Promises of promoting it ; but, I dare say, there is no County or Borough in *England* will chuse them, if once they discover their Intentions. However, it won't be amiss on this Occasion to put our Church in mind of her pious Resolutions, and the sincere Vows she made in the Days of her Calamity.

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One of her stoutest Champions against Rome, in the last Reign, delivers the Sense of his Party in these Words : * *The Church of England, says he, is so sensible of the Iniquity as well as Folly of that Method (of Persecution) that there is no Ground to suspect she will ever be guilty of it for the future. They whom no Arguments could heretofore convert, the Court (whose Tools they were in that mischievous and unchristian Work, and by whom they were instigated to all the Severities which they are now b'amed for, by objecting it to them as their Reproach and Disgrace, and by seeking to improve the R'sentments of those who had suffered by Penal Laws, to become a united Party with the Papists for their Subversion) has brought them at once to be ashamed of what they did, and to R'solutions of promoting all Christian Liberty for the Time to come. And should there be any peevish and ill-natured Ecclesiastics, who upon a Turn of Affairs, would be ready to assume their former Principles, and pursue their wonted Course : we may be secure against all Fear of their being successful in it, not only by finding the Majority as well as the more learned, both of the dignified and inferior Clergy, unchangeably fixed and determined against it, but by having the whole Nobility and Gentry, and those noble Princes, whose Right it will be next to ascend the Throne, fully possess'd with all the Generous and Christian Purposes we can desire of making Provision for Liberty of Conscience by a Law. This Passage is not only pertinent to my present Design, but a perfect Abstract and Confirmation of this Account :*

* Some Reflections on a Discourse, call'd, *Good Advice to the Church of England.*

Account: Nor do I question in the least, but that, as this judicious Author observes, the soundest Part of the Clergy, and all the Gentlemen, of *England*, will unanimously make good what they have so happily concurr'd with the King, and our late Queen, to establish. * Another acknowledges, *That the Nation has scarce forgiven some of the Church of England the Persecution into which they have suffered themselves to be cozen'd: Though now, that they see Popery bare-faced, the Stand they have made, and the vigorous Opposition that they have given to it, is that which makes all Men willing to forget what is past, and raises again the Glory of a Church, that was not a little stained by the Indiscretion and Weakness of those who were too apt to believe and hope, and so suffer'd themselves to be made a Property to those who would make them a Sacrifice.* A third Author, to name no more, highly extols the Dissenters, for their unshaken Behaviour under *Charles the Second*: † *That honest People, says he, tho' hated and maligned by their Brethren, rather than be found aiding the King in his Usurpations over the Kingdom, have chosen to undergo the utmost Calamities they could be made subject unto, either through the Execution of those Laws which had been made against them, or thro' our Princes and their Ministers wrecking their Malice upon them in arbitrary and illegal Methods.* Now, as the Churchmen, who forget this Language, and are for breaking the present Toleration, deserve to be censured, so the Dissenters have not

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* Reflections on his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

† The ill Effects of Animosities.

been wholly blameless in this Reign; they have shewn but too much Countenance to the late Attempts against the *Quakers*, which will make others have the less Compassion for themselves, if ever they should fall again under the Lash of their Enemies, which is a Thing not impossible. I know they justify their promoting Penal Laws against the *Socinians*, as if it had not been for any Difference in Religion, but on the Account of Blasphemy: But let them read *Fox's* Martyrology, and they'll find *Queen Mary's* Judges made use of that Distinction before them; for they pretended not to burn the Protestants for any speculative Notions, but for refusing actual Worship to *Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament, which they interpreted a denying of Honour to God, and so to be consequently Blasphemy. They would likewise do well not to engage one another in public Disputations, nor to accept of Challenges to this Purpose from their Adversaries. It was never known that such Meetings produced any good Effects, where the Antagonists (like so many Gladiators) eagerly contend for Victory, and mind nothing less than the Search of Truth. Each Party misrepresents the other in the Accounts they give of their Proceedings: Besides, that this is the ready way to occasion Tumults, to the endangering the public Peace. 'Tis not Liberty but Licentiousness, and was never intended by the Toleration. If they be not likewise fatally blind, they may perceive the Endeavours which are used to draw them into a Paper War, which they ought by all means to avoid. But their most general Failing is, being a little too much Courtiers of late. I know this to be an honest Mistake, partly occasion'd
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by their Fear of the common Enemy, and partly out of Gratitude to the King, for being so instrumental in procuring their Liberty. A great deal is certainly to be allowed in both these Cases, but yet such Pretences may be carried too far; witness their being last Year almost all for a Standing Army, and for some other invidious Points. I heard an eminent Person say, not long since, that the Dissenters were the Tories of this Reign; and, that they made as great Bugbears of *France* and *Popery* on all Occasions now, as others made in former Days of the *Monarchy* and *Church*. I have been the longer on this Head of *governing by Parties in Religion*, because it enters more or less into all our other Divisions, and has been not only the chiefest, but also the most successful Machine of the Conspirators against our Government, well knowing with what Fury Men oppose one another, when they imagine they are fighting for God, and hazarding the Salvation of their Souls. But we must in Justice observe, that King *William* is so far from setting his Subjects together by the Ears about Religion, or making it only a politic Fetch to serve his private Ends, that on his Accession to the Throne, he (together with the late Queen) summon'd a Convocation of the Clergy, either wholly to compose our Differences, or to make the Terms of Communion with our Church so easy, that very few Protestants, at home or abroad, would scruple conforming with it. The chief Heads recommended in their Commission were, *convenient Alterations in the Liturgy, Ceremonies, and Canons; the Correcting of Abuses in Ecclesiastical Courts; the Examination of Persons who were to be admitted into Orders, as well*

as the removing of scandalous Ministers; and Reformation of Manners in the Clergy and People. If you know who obstructed such pious Designs, you likewise know who repine and murmur at the present Toleration. But we despair not of yet seeing a better Temper towards the accomplishing so desirable a Union, which can never be effected but in the way of Peace and mutual Condescensions: for, as Sir William Temple rightly observes, *Whosoever designs the Change of Religion in a Country or Government, by any other Means than that of a general Conversion of the People, or the greatest Part of them, designs all the Mischiefs to a Nation that use to usher in or attend the two greatest Distempers of a State, Civil War or Tyranny; which are Violence, Oppression, Cruelty, Rapine, Intemperance, Injustice; in short, the miserable Effusion of human Blood, and the Confusion of all Laws, Orders, and Virtues among Men. Such Consequences as these, I doubt, are something more than the disputed Opinions of any Man, or any particular Assembly of Men, can be worth; since the great and general End of all Religion, next to Mens Happiness hereafter, is their Happiness here.* To conclude this Point; both Parties may safely take the friendly Advice of one not servilely addicted to either, when they consider that *Themistius*, a Heathen Philosopher, being heartily concerned for the common Good, offer'd such convincing Reasons against Persecution to *Valens* the *Arian* Emperor, that he stopped his Severities against the Orthodox Christians.

CHAP. III.

The Art of governing by Parties in Politics.

AS King *Charles* deluded the Clergy into his Measures by the Fear of *Presbytery*, his next Trick was to divide the Laity in their Politics, and to possess the Royalists with Apprehensions of a *Commonwealth*. All the World knows that *England* is under a free Government, whose supreme Legislative Power is lodged in the King, Lords, and Commons, each of which have their peculiar Privileges and Prerogatives; no Law can pass without their common Authority or Consent; and they are a mutual Check and Balance on one another's Overights or Encroachments. This Government is calculated for the Interest of all the Parties concerned, which are all the Inhabitants of *England*; wherefore it depends on their good Will, and is supported by their Wealth and Power. But in Absolute Monarchy all things are only subservient to the Pleasure or Grandeur of the Prince, who therefore by Force of Arms maintains his Dominion over the People, on whom he looks but as his Herd and Inheritance, to be used and disposed as he thinks convenient. In Opposition to such arbitrary Governments, those have been called *Commonwealths*, where the common Good of all was indifferently designed and pursued. But though they agree in their main End, yet they often differ about the Means, in the Names of their Magistracies, and some other Circumstances. Thus the two Kings of *Sparta* had no more Authority than

a Duke of *Venice* ; and the Statholder of *Holland* has more real Power, though less State and Dignity, than either of them. A Commonwealth, when the Administration lies in the People, is called a Democracy ; when it is solely, or for the most part in the Nobility, it is then an Aristocracy ; but if it is shared between the Commons, the Lords, and the Supreme Magistrate (term him King, Duke, Emperor, or what you please) it is then a mixt Form, and is by *Polybius* and many judicious Politicians among the Ancients, esteemed the most equal, lasting, and perfect of all others. In this Sense *England* is undeniably a Commonwealth, though it be ordinarily stiled a Monarchy, because the chief Magistrate is called a King. Such as are afraid therefore that *England* should become a Commonwealth, may be suspected not to understand their own Language ; and those who talk of making it one, may dream of turning it into an Aristocracy or Democracy, but can never make it more a Commonwealth than it is already. This is our admirable Constitution. But it will be thought strange, that any Persons should be found endeavouring to strip themselves of their Liberty, and to leave all their Posterity enslav'd ; yet Experience will not let us doubt that there is any Thing so absurd, into which some may not be cheated or corrupted. The several Factions who usurped the Government, and maintained themselves by military Force before the Restoration, assumed the Title of a Commonwealth, though they were the farthest imaginable from the Thing. The People who smarted under their Tyranny, abhorred the very Name ever after ; though they have given sufficient Demon-

Demonstration since that Time, that there are not more passionate Lovers of Liberty on Earth. King *Charles*, who wanted no Cunning, took the Advantage of their Mistake, and bubbled us almost out of our Constitution before we perceived it undermined. Every Body was afraid of relapsing into the former Confusions; and he dextrously insinuated by his Instruments, that nothing but the increase of his Prerogative could possibly prevent it. All the Dissenters from the Established Church were made to pass for Commonwealths Men; nor could a Man escape that Imputation who grudged the King any Power, though never so dangerous; insomuch that all Mouths were stopped, and the Friends of their Country could only privately lament its approaching Ruin. At last the Patience of good Men being quite worn out, they began to complain loudly of their Grievances, and the Creatures of Prerogative as loudly opposed them, which made them mortally hate one another of course, while the King laughed in his Sleeve at the Sport, and took special Care to keep their Animosities alive. The Charge of Rebellion was urged as much by one Side, as denied by the other; and both made the highest Pretences to Loyalty, though each of them would wholly engross that Virtue to themselves. They branded one another with opprobrious Names. In Parliament they were called Patriots and Loyalists, or the Court and Country Parties; But in all other Places they were distinguished into Whigs and Tories, being the Names of Highwaymen in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the Courtiers intending thereby to make the Patriots pass for Presbyterians, and the Patriots reproaching

the Courtiers with Popery. Considering all Things, it is a much greater wonder that the Whigs were not quite destroyed, than that they had a great while the worst of it, being excluded from all Favour at Court, and doomed to Hell by the Church, as if Heaven and Earth had combined against them. Under Colour of keeping them under Hatches, a great part of the Protestants were disarmed, turned out of their Posts in Corporations, debarred from all Offices of Profit or Honour, standing Forces kept on foot, and, not to be too particular, there was nothing so arbitrary or illegal which was not encouraged by the Tories against the Whigs, though they might be sure to suffer by it themselves (as plainly they did) at last. The Papists all the while were not only connived at, secretly caress'd, and allowed to be very loyal Subjects, but also publicly tolerated and admitted against Law into Civil and Military Employments. But no Engine served half so well as the deluded or ambitious Churchmen to inflame these Differences, and to render that Party odious which they took for Enemies to themselves and the King: for the Clergy can make a sudden and universal Insinuation of whatever they please, by reason of their subordinate degrees, and their being posted more commodiously than any Army, one at least in every Parish all over the Kingdom. They published therefore and infused every where the Orders of the Court; they were very busy, and had no small Influence in Elections for Members of Parliament. They preached not only Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, but recommended and approved all the Kings illegal Proceedings in
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taking away the Charters or Freedoms of Towns; making of unqualified Sheriffs, and packing of Juries to deprive Men of their Lives under Forms of Law; imposing arbitrary and exorbitant Fines on such Persons as did but complain or modestly assert our Rights; the frequent Pro-roguing and Dissolving of Parliaments, without giving them Time or Opportunity to consider the Good of the Nation: and, as if all this and a great deal besides were not enough, they ridiculed the horrid Plots of the Papists against their own Religion, and laboured to fasten them on their Protestant Brethren. Such as these were the Men who then appropriated to themselves the Name of the Church of *England*, but were really the Scandal and Betrayers of it, mercenary Drudges of the Court, and the bubbled Tools of Popery. But to their eternal Honour, most of those who were eminent for their Learning, Birth, or good Sense, continued stedfast to the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and our excellent Government. Though the Conspirators and Deferters made a mighty Noise, yet their number was contemptible in comparison of the honest Churchmen, who were not to be frightened or cozened out of their Duty. Indeed moderate Men were discouraged at that Time; but they bore it patiently, as became their Character. They were all both Clergy and Laymen made to pass for Whigs, and the Whigs to be all Presbyterians; yet much the greatest and ablest part of those called Whigs then, and at this present time, are sincere Members of the Church of *England*: but some will admit none to be a true Churchman, who is for allowing any Liberty of Conscience to others; and if they mean,

mean the Church of *Rome* while they pretend the Church of *England*, they are certainly in the right. In *Ireland*, where they had no Measures to observe in King *James's* Time, the Papists exclaimed against High Churchmen, Low-Churchmen, and all Protestants promiscuously, as a pack of disloyal Whigs; which, one would think, should persuade them now to a stricter Union, or, at least, to forbear all contumelious Distinctions. We may perceive what Numbers were gained, and what Advances were made to arbitrary Power in the late Reigns, by the Addresses and Abhorrences then presented from all parts of *England*; some thanking the King for dissolving a Parliament, others that he condescended to let any meet, and many encouraging him to summon none at all. There wanted not such as maintained the natural and divine Right of arbitrary Power itself as well as of Kingship; witness the Publication of *Pilmer's Patriarcha*; and those thought themselves very modest who (with Doctor *Brady*) made us legal Slaves, affirming that we lost all Title to Liberty or Property by the Conquest of *William* the *Norman*, and that any thing possess'd by *Englishmen* since was from the Favour of our Kings, which they might recall at their Pleasure. In such perillous times 'tis no wonder if several noble and worthy Patriots lost their Lives by private Assassinations, captious Quirks of Law, false and perjured Evidence; nor was any Method thought too dishonest or barbarous to reach those who would otherwise be Rubs in the way of their Designs. Notwithstanding all these Discouragements, that Party who espoused the Defence of Liberty and Property maintained them-

themselves against the Craft and Power of lewd
 and arbitrary Kings, against a flattering Clergy,
 a prostitute Ministry, a corrupt Set of Judges,
 a mercenary Army, and Justices purposely cho-
 sen to oppress them. There are great Complaints
 now of the Immorality of the Nation, and I
 wish there were not such just Reasons for it:
 But with all our Failings it can scarce be pa-
 rallel'd in History, that any People under the like
 Circumstances preserved their Liberty. This
 may well be allowed for a Miracle, though I must
 reckon it a greater that any Remains of these
 Animosities should disturb us under the pre-
 sent King, who is no way engaged in the trea-
 cherous Designs of his Predecessors; but on the
 contrary came generously to rescue us from Po-
 pery and Slavery, and to secure us for ever here-
 after from those worst of Plagues. Yet there
 is but too much of these ill Humours stirring
 among us still. Divisions ought carefully to be
 avoided in all good Governments, and a King
 can never lessen himself more than by heading
 of a Party; for thereby he becomes only the
 King of a Faction, and ceases to be the common
 Father of his People. If he is visibly partial to
 one Party, and confers on them only all Places
 of Honour and Profit, he naturally makes the
 other Party hate him; who, finding themselves
 unjustly excluded from Confidence and Prefer-
 ment, will be incessantly labouring to destroy
 him as their Enemy and Oppressor. The Mat-
 ter is still worse, if instead of governing his
 whole Kingdom, he is actually governed him-
 self by a Party; for they care not in what dis-
 honourable, difficult, or desperate Attempts they
 involve him, to gratify their Revenge on the
 other

other Side, whom they fail not to represent as Enemies to his Person, or dangerous to his Government, and they are sure to be treated accordingly. But the worst of all is, when he not only chuses to govern by a Party, but is given to change Sides as he finds it make for his Turn, or as either of them happens to outbid the other in executing his Projects, or complying with his Desires. Then all the Administration grows unsteady, Councils uncertain, no Union at home, less Credit abroad, and a general Slackness in Execution ; no body knowing what Party to please, or how to act with Security, since what is allowed by those in present Power, may for no other Reason be disapproved by the others when it comes to their Turn to be the Favourites. And such Revolutions are quickly made : For as soon as one Party loses their Credit with the Nation, or refuses to grant any of the Prince's Demands, though never so unreasonable, they are turned off without farther Ceremony, and their mortal Foes advanced into the Saddle. If a Man were so indifferent or hard-hearted as to sport with our Calamities, it were no unpleasant Entertainment to consider what miserable Handles are taken sometimes when the Disgrace of a Party is resolved. The Knavery for instance, or Miscarriage of some few is heavily charged on all those of the same Denomination, and nothing less can do than wholly to change Hands for the opposite Faction ; just as if there were no wiser or honest Men among the Whigs, than those who were lately turned out. But as his present Majesty does not govern by such Arts, so these are not produced for an Example ;

Example ; nor is there any fear of his employing Tories on this Account. As no Mortal, though incomparable for Virtue, or in never so exalted a Station, is secure from the Censures of jealous, weak, and malicious Persons ; so we must not dissemble that even King *William* was calumniated by many to affect this Method of governing by Parties, that is, in plain *English*, governing by Tricks. The unhappy Accidents that gave occasion to this Surmise are very accountable : And I question not so to vindicate his Majesty from such an unjust Imputation, that he must stand clear of it in the Minds of all his loving Subjects. Pursuant to his Heroic and God-like Design, he resolved on his first coming here to abolish our infamous Distinctions both in Church and State, and intended to receive the good Men of all Parties into equal Favour, Protection, and Trust : Not that he designed to employ any who continued still a Tory ; that is, who retained his old Notions of Passive Obedience, unlimited Prerogative, the Divine Right of Monarchy, or who was averse to Liberty of Conscience. But thinking that, according to their own declared Resolutions, they had quitted such wicked Principles as had lately endangered their Ruin, he elevated several of them to the most eminent Posts in the Kingdom. Nor was he too hasty in trusting them, considering that in the latter end of King *James's* Reign, they openly acknowledged their Shame for being made such Tools to his Brother and him, pretended a World of Sorrow for contributing so much to our past and present Misfortunes, and expressed hearty Resolutions of future Amendment.

ment. And in effect, all Differences seemed to be forgot when the Prince of *Orange* landed. But, alas! the Tories quickly returned to their Vomit, they fiercely opposed the making him King, would have him at most but a Regent accountable to his Father-in-Law, whom they positively refused to abjure, used their utmost Endeavours to restore the latter, affirming him still to be the rightful King, and allowed the former to be only a King *de facto*. Notwithstanding this ungenerous Treatment, King *William*, as I said before, admitted several of them into his Councils and Ministry, without gaining the Party to his Interest; they appeared displeased with his good Fortune, rejoiced whenever they heard of his ill Success, and some of them daily betrayed him by means of those very Trusts he had placed in their Hands. The frequent Discovery of their Plots, Correspondence, and Treacheries, with an universal Series of designed Mismanagements in every Part of the Government, opened the Eyes of all who were unalterable Friends to their Country; and they made the King so sensible of his own and the Nation's most dangerous Condition, that he betook himself to the only proper Remedy of saving both, which was by placing the Administration in the Hands of Persons that had opposed the late Usurpations, helped to advance himself to the Throne, and were all their Lives the professed Enemies of Popery and *France*. Yet (according to that merciful Disposition which is natural to him) he laid aside the Tories, some so privately, some so gently, and others with so much seeming Reluctancy, that many of the warm Whigs exceeded

ceeded the Bounds of Decency on that Account ; they swore that all Kings were alike, that the Fault lay in the Office and not in the Persons, that every one of them loved arbitrary Power, and consequently Men of arbitrary Principles ; that they had only changed the Huntsman, but that the Hounds were to be still the same : And that they hoped for little Benefit from having the Whigs preferred, believing that either they must do such Things as were only fit for Tories, or that they must be soon turned out as a Parcel of stubborn, opinionative, and uncourtly Fellows, who were Strangers to the Art of pleasing Kings, cheating the People, and enriching themselves. However they were quickly cured of their Mistake, the King fell in heartily with the Public Interest, his new Ministers served him faithfully for a considerable Time, and all our Affairs took a better Face both at home and abroad, by Land and Sea. But see the Instability of human Councils ; some of those surly Whigs grew by degrees the most pliant Gentlemen imaginable, they could think no Revenue too great for the King, nor would suffer his Prerogative to be lessened ; they were on frivolous Pretences for keeping up a Standing Army to our further Peril and Charge, they filled all Places in their Disposal with their own Creatures, combined together for their common Impunity, whoever found Fault with their Conduct they represented him as an Enemy to the Government, and even opposed the best of Laws, lest the Tories, as they said, should partake of the Benefit. Surely these Gentlemen, if it were in their Power, would not suffer the Sun to shine
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on any but themselves and their Faction. But as this Language, this Partiality, this Conduct, were directly contrary to the Principles and Practices of the Whigs (and the Tories themselves will do Justice to the old Whigs) so these Apostates were abandoned by their former Friends, and left to the Support of their own Interest, which appeared to be so very little with any Party, that the King did wisely cashier them. Indeed some People, who were well enough pleased with this Piece of Justice, are yet so weak as to fear lest he should now establish a Tory Ministry; but this is in good earnest to think him weaker than themselves, since he has already experienced both the Inconsistency of a Tory Administration with the Genius of the Kingdom, and their irreconcilable Hatred of his own Person. 'Tis manifest by all his Steps, that he loves not to govern by Parties, but rather when his Ministers form themselves into Parties, he will have nothing to do with them any longer. But what need they be afraid; for supposing the worst (though I am confident the Supposition is absurd) what can he gain by taking in the Tories, whose Interest can hold no Balance with that of the Liberty and Property of Men? He may soon be reduced to the same Straits and Uneasiness, as in the first four Years of his Reign, and be obliged to hear the same ungrateful Clamours again: Or suppose yet farther, that the Tories (from a Sense of the Violence of their Nature, and the Smallness of their Number) should attempt to govern by Force, as they did in the late Reigns; then let them remember that they have to do with Whigs, Men that will
neither

neither be frighted nor flattered out of their Liberties; Men that will adhere to their Principles in spite of Discountenance, Prisons, Exile, or Proscriptions; and Men, in short, that may be cheated twice, will make sure Work the third Time. They have some Fools and Knaves among them, as all great Bodies must needs have, when there was a *Judas* among twelve Apostles: But nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom are certainly in the Scale of Liberty. Now to leave Suppositions, it is notoriously known, that they were the Whigs themselves who bore hardest on some of the late Ministry, that they were Whigs who wrote all the Books against Standing Armies, or for making the Fleet and Militia useful; and that no Tory could openly oppose the Court but on a Whigish Bottom, leaving the Honour of their secret Conspiracies to their own Principles. But as I have made it plain that King *William* has never yet degraded himself to become the Head of any Party; so I dare engage he will never do it the rest of his Time, which I pray God may be long and prosperous. Next to our Preservation, his chiefest Care will be to bring us all into the same Interest, which is the only Thing that can heal our Divisions. The Mischiefs proceeding from the Difference of Parties are too much felt not to be known, and I shall have occasion in this Treatise to mention the worst of them: but there is one particularly which is not so easily perceived, yet has as pernicious Effects as any of the rest; and it is, that a World of People change their Principles, or act in Contradiction to them, while at the same time they go under their old Denomination,

tion, whereby the simplest, and therefore the greatest part of their Friends, are frequently cheated. For such a Person having been all his Life reputed a Whig (for Example) and still calling himself so, they continue their good Opinion of him, though he is the most corrupt Man alive, and is purchasing Wealth or Honour at the Price of those Liberties which they intrusted him to preserve. Nay though sometimes with their own Eyes they see him do what they would approve in no other, and cannot defend in him, yet they are apt to imagine that he steps out of the common Road with some honest Design; and so he is supported by the Credit of that Party, which he is discrediting or destroying all the while. I need not bring Examples of what we behold every Day. On the contrary, if one who was a Tory in the late Reigns asserts our common Rights with all the Reason and Vigour that may be; yet they will never believe him sincere, and will often oppose their own Interest because promoted by one, who they cannot be persuaded intends them any good. Thus they run headlong into two Extremes, as if no Man once in the right could ever afterwards be in the wrong, or no Man once in the wrong could ever come to be again in the right. The former of these Opinions is as foolish, as the latter is uncharitable. But there is one evident Inference to be drawn from those People's Mistakes, that *we may be often deceived in Men, but never in Principles*. Men may go backwards and forwards, but Principles are eternally the same; wherefore the Actions of a Man, and not his Profession, are the best Demonstration of his Principles. The warmest Opposers
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of Prerogative in the three last Parliaments of *Charles II.* were either Cavaliers, or the Children of such ; and the Liberties of *England* are not a little beholding in this Reign to Tories, I mean to Persons so esteemed, or who perhaps were in reality such before they had better Information. But should it be demanded if I would have no Distinction made between Whigs and Tories, if I would have them both indifferently taken into the Ministry, or chosen into Parliament ? I answer, in the first Place, that those, who, out of private Designs, or particular Quarrels, combine together, and enroll themselves into such Factions, ought to be excluded out of all Places on all Hands. But I answer, secondly, that understanding Whigs and Tories as I have stated those Names in the former Part of this Chapter, there can be no balancing in preferring a Whig to a Tory ; that is, a free Governmen to arbitrary Power, the Protestant Religion to Popery, *England* to *France*, and, if I may add one Thing more, King *William* to King *James*. But then it must be remembered that no great heed is to be given to Names or Times ; for the best way of discovering the true Whigs is by their Actions. Yet one Observation ought to be made, and it is, that as the apostate Whigs of our Time deserve to be mark'd with Infamy ; so the leading Tories, who formerly dipped their Hands in the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens, or who were the principal Agents and Instruments of the Court, ought in my Opinion, to be excluded out of all Trust. Every Body would justly wonder to see those Judges now on the Bench, who then declared for the King's Will against our Laws, and im-

plicitly served all his Purposes of impoverishing, enslaving, or murdering his Subjects. But would it not be as great Wonder to see any of King *Charles's French* Pensioners, or of King *James's* evil Counsellors, restored to Favour or Preferment in the present Government, which was set up not only to reform the Disorders introduced by those Persons, but also to prevent the like for the Time to come. But as there is no Danger of such a fatal Error, so this is spoken only for Caution. Thus I have given an Account how the Nation was divided in their Politics, and how both the Parties have been played one against another, the better to subdue, or destroy them. It will have this use for the future, that as oft as the like Course is taken, we may guess what is meant by it, and consequently be prepar'd for our Defence: For, as the Proverb says, *fore-warn'd, fore-arm'd*.

C H A P. IV.

The Art of governing by Parties in Parliament.

THE great Council, or supreme Legislative Power of *England*, is called the Parliament; and as it is by the Wisdom and Virtue of this Assembly that all our Rights are preserved, asserted, or enlarged; so it is a known Maxim, that we can never be destroyed but by a Parliament. Such Princes therefore as aimed at Despotic Power, left no Stone unturned to get one to their Mind, knowing this to be the certain

certain Means of pulling down our Constitution at once : For the People have such a Veneration for the Sanctions of their Parliaments, and are so sensible of the Protection they have always received from them, that they think it almost impossible they should mistake their true Interest, much less be guilty of such Ingratitude and Treachery, as to join in any base Designs against those who honoured them with being their Representatives. My Business at present is not to shew what Progress some of our Kings before *Henry VII.* made towards the gaining of Parliaments to favour their tyrannical Projects, partly by personal Services, or by the Tenures immediately held of themselves; and partly by the Dependencies or Retainers of such Lords as seconded their Intentions. But *Charles II.* being still of a Piece with himself, had very nigh accomplished by Parties, Places, and Pensions, what all the Slight or Force of his Predecessors could never compass. The same religious and politic Factions by which he divided not only the whole Kingdom, but even private Conversation and Families, reigned most of all in Parliament. The zealous Churchmen would not stick at granting him any thing (though never so destructive to the Protestant Religion) on Condition he rigorously executed the Penal Laws against Dissenters; and the Tories were always ready to make him a Sacrifice of the public Liberty, if he would but assist them to plague or suppress the Whigs: And we may charitably suppose that the Dissenters and Whigs were not behind hand with their Enemies as often as they had Opportunity, which was very seldom. It came at length to that pass, that

whatever Bill was brought into the House by one Party, was for that only Reason fiercely opposed by the other, without ever entring into the Merits or Consequence of it; so that the best Laws were got or lost according as they happened to be moved or opposed by the stronger Side. But lest his Partizans should grow lukewarm or changeable, he fortified them in their Principles, by the Addition of all the Places in his Disposol; and when he had no more left to bestow, he bribed as many as he could of the rest by secret Pensions. The Fools, or Knaves of Estates, usually dined with the Chief Ministers and Favourites: While Tables were kept for the poorer Sort at *Whitehall*, in *Westminster*, and thereabouts, that they might be always ready within Call. They punctually knew their Pay-day; and a great Officer said, that they came about him like so many Jackdaws for Cheese, at the End of every Session. All these joined together like an impenetrable Phalanx, and voted, says one, as lumpingly in the House of Commons, as the Lawn-Sleeves did in the House of Lords. They never differed about their Opinions in the House, notwithstanding that many of them were mortal Enemies, and of quite contrary Sentiments abroad. It were endless to enumerate the Mischiefs occasioned by those Hirelings, most of them are remembered by every Body, many of their sad Effects are still felt, and they are all the proper Subject of an Historian; yet one Thing I must not forget in this Place, that they constantly over-looked, or occasioned all the ill-husbandry of the Government, that they might have their

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Share in its Bribery and Profuseness. But the greatest Corruption introduced in that Reign was the Expences of Candidates at Elections. The Courtiers supplied their want of Merit with Presents and good Fellowship, and the Charges of the Pensioners were defrayed by the King ; which obliged the honest and sober Gentlemen to treat likewise in their own Defence, lest the Nation should be entirely drunk, and bought out of their Liberties. Excepting therefore such Persons as are under this last Necessity, I doubt not but all those who buy their Elections, sell their Votes ; and, though I have no great Opinion of their Virtue in other Things, yet I believe in this respect they observe the first Precept of Morality, to do nothing to others but what they would have done to themselves. Thus the Men, who ought to reform our Manners, make not only Lewdness, Drunkenness, Bribery, and Prodigality habitual all over the Kingdom ; but raise a Sort of Civil War, creating Quarrels and perpetual Animosities in all Counties and Corporations : And the worthiest Persons commonly decline to stand for fear of being obliged to abhorred Intemperance, or to ruin their Estates. King *James* the First was so overjoyed to hear of his great Power when he came into *England*, that he could not forbear exclaiming, *Do I mak the Jidges, Do I mak the Bishops ? Than, Godiswaans, Ise mak ony thing that pleeses me to be the Law and Gospel.* But his Grandson discovered likewise the Secret of making what Parliament he pleased, and so consequently of setting up what Government he pleased : Nor could he have failed of thorough Success, had it not been for the vast Sums he

squandered away on his Whores and other Pleasures. I wish there was no Reason to complain of such vicious Practices about Elections now; but daily Experience, as well as the frequent Laws enacted to regulate such Abuses, will not let us doubt of the Fact. It was a main Point gained to a Party, if the Sheriff of a County, or Mayor of a Town was one of their Number: for if their Man had miscarried, right or wrong he made a double Return, and so the Matter was referred to the Committee of Elections, where Victory was intailed, not on the Justice of the Cause, but the Strength of the Party. 'Tis a Shame to consider the scandalous Partiality which is still used in such Cases, and how frankly some declare their Resolutions before they hear a Word of the Debate, which makes it a common Saying in all Men's Mouths, that *a Committee of Elections is a Committee of Affections*: Nor is it past the Memory of Man since a certain Person swore he would petition, though he had but 20 Votes to 100, because he was sure his Party would bring him in. On hearing sometimes from the Members how Debates were managed in the House, I could not forbear thinking that I was reading an epick Poem, where in the Relation of some memorable Battle, a particular Account is given of the several Nations engaged of each Side, their Leaders, their Numbers, and Manner of Fighting: Just so for all the World did they talk of Pensioners, Officers, and Tories on this Side; of Republicans, Whigs, and Dissenters on the other. Honours, Preferments, Dependance, or Expectations, were the private Motives of most, the Interest of their Party was professed by all, and the

the Good of the publick minded by none or a very few. But, what makes the Military Allusion still more apposite, I was likewise told of a flying Squadron that hovered about both Armies, and that turned the Fortune of the Day as they were disposed to join the one Side or the other. So much of this Temper is still remaining, (as habitual Dispositions cannot be changed of a sudden) that you may know the several Parties (they say) by their very Seats in the House of Commons, where they have their peculiar Sides and Corners. The true Patriots in most publick Assemblies (the Men above Fears, Hopes, or Diffimulation) have been ever so few, that, without taking Advantage of the Designs or Resentments of others, they could never carry any thing. When they oppose the Court (for example) they are joined first by those who think themselves no less deserving or qualified than such as are already in Employments, which makes them peevish and resty till (according to the modish Phrase) they are taken off: And secondly, they are assisted by the real Enemies of the Government, who seek not to mend but to destroy it, which makes them often do great Service to the Kingdom only that they may create a little Vexation to the King. They are sure of the Courtiers in all Bills for Supplies, or granting of Money for any Purpose, because that passing through their own Hands, they know a large Share of it must stick to their Fingers; and they side with them in preserving the present Government, because they flatter themselves with being always the present Ministers. Many of the best Laws are procured after this Manner, or by
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the Bargains they make interchangeably to join for such a Bill desired by one Side, on Condition of gratifying the other in one as good. But then how many excellent Laws pass with much Difficulty, or are quite laid aside, purely for being moved by one of the Parties? Was not the very reforming our Coin opposed by a Party? Does not the Bill for making the Militia useful still depend, by reason of the Clashing of Parties? Are not Parties the Occasion that Mismanagements are not enquired into, that the Criminals of their Number are not punished, that a Naturalization dare scarce be named in the House, and that the King knows not on what or whom to depend? But not to launch into the boundless Ocean of Mischiefs proceeding from Parties in Parliament, does not every body pretend to guess at the Reason why the *Self-denying Bill* is so often talked of, and as often dropped every Sessions? This Bill makes all those incapable to sit in Parliament, who hold any Office during the Pleasure of the Court, because such Men depend on the King more than is consistent with the Freedom of a Parliament-Man: And if any of them be Proof against this Temptation (as I am sure there are Men of that Virtue) yet still it makes them more suspected than well agrees with their own Quiet or Reputation. And 'tis Matter of Fact, that the Gentlemen enjoying those Preferments do generally vote together on all Occasions, which few will believe to proceed from Accident, or any Sympathy in Nature, though certain *occult* Qualities may have a great Influence on their Judgments. Why such a Bill is opposed by the Officers themselves, needs
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no Explanation ; but some will tell you that the other Party press this Bill, till those Men are like to be ejected, and that then they let it drop out of hopes to step into their Places. However the Representatives may act, the Sense of the Nation is for the Bill. But I think there is an obvious Expedient without going to Extremes ; for 'tis very possible that the same Person may keep his Seat in Parliament and have any Place to boot, yet be an independent and honest Man ; for let those Preferments be but conferred for Life, and the Dispute is immediately at an end. But either the Bill or this Expedient must be had ; the Nation will never be satisfied without the one or the other ; and what the honest Men in the House cannot obtain at once, they will procure by Degrees : Witness last Sessions the Exclusion of those concerned in managing the Excise, a Clause in an Act some Years before which incapacitated others, and its believed at their next Meeting they'll get rid of the Commissioners of the Customs. I will not insist on the splitting or dividing of Offices among several Persons, which used to be executed by fewer ; nor mention such useless Employments, as rather look like Pensions than Preferments. But I must own that more than once I heard some of the Men in Places complain, that, though they received no Commands from Court, yet they did not find themselves free Agents, lest they should lose what was their whole Subsistence, or that cost them considerable Sums ; and for this last Reason many Gentlemen are not willing to get such Places for their Sons, though otherwise it be their earnest Desire to
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breed them in Business. We know by the Event that the two last Kings made Patents void, and bestowed Places (as they fell) during Pleasure for promoting their Popish and Arbitrary Designs; which is so inconsistent with King *William's* actual delivering us from Slavery, and his solemn Engagements to defend our Liberty against all future Attempts, that no honest Man can think he ever did it for the same or the like Ends: Wherefore, by reason Matters were extremely unsettled at the Beginning, and that being a Stranger to Men's Characters and Persons, he might reward or intrust Enemies instead of Friends, he followed such Measures as were contrary to no Law, and left him Room to rectify Mistakes; but now after twelve Years Reign in *England*, 'tis time to take another Course, more honourable for himself and acceptable to his People. Upon the whole, as things have been managed, 'tis grown such a Matter of Suspicion to have a Place, that a Man is counted dishonest for no other Reason in the World, which brings an unspeakable Obstruction to publick Affairs. And when a House of Commons thus abounds with Officers, the People will be apt to ask such Questions as one of them did some time ago in the most publick Manner: As, * Whether a Parliament filled with Delinquents will ever call themselves to an Account, or what Account would be given if they should? Whether an Assembly of publick Robbers will sentence one another to be punished or to make Restitution? Whether it is possible those Grievances can be redressed, which are committed

* Danger of mercenary Parliaments.

by Persons from whom there is no higher Power to appeal? Whether there is any Hope of Justice, where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majesty can be rightly informed in Affairs relating to himself or the Publick, when they are represented to him only by such Persons who design to abuse him? Whether the Publick Accounts will be faithfully inspected by those who embezzle our Money to their own Use? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintained by such, who only pervert it to their own sinister Ends and Purposes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Ballance, where all the Weight lies only in one Scale? Or whether a House of Commons can vote freely, who are either prepossessed with the Hopes and Promises of enjoying Places, or the slavish Fears of losing them? So much for Places. The next Thing is how to prevent the Growth of private Pensioners. That formerly there existed such a Species of monstrous Animals no-body doubts; and though I know of none among us now, yet they may possibly infect us hereafter, and that with the greater Hazard, because they are of that kind of venomous Creatures which commonly sting undiscerned; for (like Chamelions) they never appear in their natural Colours, but are distinguished in the Mischief they do by certain Circumstances and Symptoms which are very convincing, though they do not always amount to the Evidence of Proofs. But as for the Way to prevent their propagating among us, my Opinion in short is, that no Remedy can be so proper as *annual Parliaments*: For it will not be worth any King's while to bribe so many Persons (and they must
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always be a great Number) that shall be able to gain him any Point against the Judgment or Interest of the Kingdom ; since they are to return so quickly to give an Account of their Fidelity, under the Penalty of Shame (as some Body expresses it) and to have no further Trust. Besides that such Payments must come so thick, that the Prince will not only be quickly weary of the Charge and Change, but likewise be utterly disabled from answering their Bills. And this, for the very same Reason, is the surest Means of preventing Expences at Elections. The Proverb says, that Men who buy dear cannot live by selling cheap ; but if they cannot sell at all, they will never buy. Some Remedies are so adapted by Nature to certain Distempers, that all others prove tedious, troublesome, or ineffectual ; and (let Men beat their Brains as long as they please) in the Cases now mentioned annual Parliaments are the only specific. We have a Statute still in force, *That a Parliament shall be holden every Year once, and more often if need be* ; but, as the Duke of Buckingham said, Statutes are not like Women, for they are not one jot the worse for being old. The long Disuse of this Law is no Argument against it, no more than a Man can be justified in his Knavery, because it is a long time since he was honest. The Revival of it makes a sort of Rotation among the Gentlemen into this great School of Wisdom, which a few Persons should not be suffered to ingross to themselves. The good Men will in all probability be chosen again, and there ought to be some such speedy Method of excluding the bad : Whereas to continue the same Persons for several Years, is not only
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an Injury to the rest, but the ready way to have most of them corrupted, and to have all of them dwindle into Factions, Parties, and private Animosities. The Act for *Triennial Parliaments* is a great Step towards this Matter, nor has it wanted its good Effects. Whatever Abuses remain will vanish after the first Year they become annual; and it is the Fault of our Representatives if we do not speedily obtain this Blessing, for the King will as easily grant the one as he did the other. In all well regulated Governments ancient and modern, where there is a frequent Alteration of the Representative or Legislative Powers, there are likewise certain Times for electing them, and stated Intervals for their assembling and acting. The want of this seems to be no little Imperfection in our Constitution, as the establishing of such an Order must give mighty Ease to the People, without being called from their Business (as formerly) by sudden or unseasonable Summons: and it would beget a greater Regularity and Steadiness in the public Administration of all domestic and foreign Affairs. If any unexpected Exigences should require their present Help, the King may convoke them *more often if need be*; but then it must be evidently to prevent or redress such Inconveniences as cannot wait their annual and fixed Period, such as dangerous Conspiracy, a foreign Invasion, or the like: For otherwise it would only serve to make the Members weary of fruitless expensive Journeys, and put the Electors to needless Trouble. A farther Argument for stated Meetings of Parliament, is, that if the House of
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Lords be a true Judicatory, then 'tis absolutely necessary that it should, like all other Courts, have its proper and fixed Seasons of sitting : For otherwise the Subjects are deprived of Justice, not being able to make timely Appeals, and uncertain when to do so, or if ever they can. But to prevent a thing which we know may happen, no King hereafter can hinder the Parliament from meeting to dispatch Business at the usual Time, when the Necessity of our Affairs at home, and very critical Junctures abroad, indispenfibly require it : Nor can the whole Nation be kept in Suspence; whether the old Parliament should sit, or a new one is to be chosen, which involves all the Gentlemen, and the mean People themselves in a great deal of Trouble or Expence, and proves extraordinary prejudicial to their Business ; while others are working on the old or the intended new Members, and waiting the favourable Time of executing their own Projects. But no Government fears a new Parliament but such as deserve their Animadversion ; which therefore ought to make the People the more earnest for their meeting. As the Circumstances of Things alter, so what was once to good Purpose established for the Benefit of the Community, may in process of Time prove to be of very dangerous and pernicious Consequence ; thus we have Boroughs which were formerly rich and populous (as *Winchelsea* for Example) but being now reduced to mean Villages, there is not still the same Reason they should enjoy a Privilege of sending Members to Parliament. One Place, to wit, *Old Sarum*, has but the bare Name of
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Places as well as Persons, there needs but to restrain this Privilege to such Corporations as contain a certain Number of Inhabitants, and that pay a certain Sum towards the publick Charge, to be both specified in the Act to that Purpose. *Henry* the Seventh is often stiled the *English Solomon*, by reason of those Alterations he made in our Balance ; and in some Sense he may indeed be counted a new Legislator, though he never intended us those Blessings which are the Effects of his Laws, but purely acted out of private Interest, which greatly detracts from his personal Merit. But though King *William* seems to want no Addition to his Glory, having already undergone such infinite Hazards, and performed so many incomparable Actions in vindicating and enlarging of our Liberty ; yet as an Accumulation to his own inward Satisfaction and our unequalled Happiness, he could not do any thing more extraordinary, generous, or beneficial, than concurring to fix the annual Seasons of chusing and assembling our Parliaments, and bringing our Representatives to so desired an Equality. Hereby he might be sure to add new Vigour to our Administration in general, as he has already done to many subordinate Parts of it ; he would enjoy the Honour of settling the *English* Government, which has been ever hitherto in such a floating and uncertain Condition, that People were at a loss by what Name to call it ; he would obscure the Lustre of fortuitous or ignorant Legislators ; render his Person, while alive, the Object of all good Men's Expectations or Praise ; and make his Name, when dead, universally admired, immortal, and adored.

CHAP. V.

The Art of governing by Parties on the Bench.

IN all Political Societies there are Laws promulgated and established, to be the general Standard and Measure of every Man's Actions, and ordaining express Penalties to be inflicted on the Transgressors of the same proportionable to the Nature of their Crimes, and to deter others by their Example from committing the like Offences. By this Means the Wicked are discountenanced, repressed, or extirpated; the Innocent are not only commended and encouraged, but secured in the Enjoyment of their Property against Violence or Fraud; and the whole Community is preserved in Safety, Honour, and Tranquillity. But as Laws without some Power to put them in Execution, are no more than Cannon on a Platform without a Gunner; and that if Men were left to judge in their own Cases, either they might be too partial to themselves without setting due Bounds to their Passion and Revenge, or, provided they had private Satisfaction, might be too remiss in making Examples for the Benefit of the Society; there are therefore indifferent Judges, invested with Publick Authority, to decide all Controversies according to the Intent of the Laws, and to see Punishment executed on Offenders. In the best Governments, the legislative and executive Powers are always placed in different Hands;

for otherwise the Makers of the Laws might entirely exempt themselves from their Jurisdiction, or suit them to their own Advantage; whereas becoming like other Men subject to them as soon as they are ratified, and the Sentence of the Breach to be pronounced by other Persons, they will take care, at least for their own Sakes, that they be calculated for the common Good. These publick Judges are not constituted barely to hear the Parties, and to read to them the Statutes relating to their several Cases; but also to interpret, apply, and reconcile the Laws, where any Controversy does arise about their true Meaning or Extent. Nor is there any Remedy in Nature or Art to prevent such Doubts, though never so much Pains be taken in wording them; because, though many Cases may prove in the Main to be the same, yet things are so varied by Circumstances (not possible to be all foreseen by the Legislators) that no two Cases are ever found to be altogether alike. Wherefore in every Judicatory there is a discretionary (and I may on this Occasion say an arbitrary Power) in the Judges to apply the Laws to such different Cases, and to declare, to the best of their Skill, the Meaning of the Law-makers: But still in using this discretionary Power they must have a Regard to natural Equity, by which all other Laws are to be made and interpreted. There is least Use of this arbitrary Power left to the Judges where the Laws are few, short, and plain; but where they are many, voluminous, and intricate, 'tis not only a certain Sign of a very unsound Constitution (like a sick Man's Apartment, filled with Glasses and Gallipots) but there is also most Use of
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of this Arbitrary Power left in the Judges both in applying and reconciling them among themselves. 'Tis in making use of this discretionary Power that Judges are chiefly occorrupted; which is the hardest to be effected where they are many in Number, and not more obnoxious to the Displeasure, or more dependent on the Authority of one Estate than another, where the Supreme Government is lodged in several Orders conjointly, as with us in *England* in the King, Lords and Commons. Now King *Charles* and King *James* had our Judges solely at their Devotion on a double Account: For first, whereas before they commonly had their Commissions for Life, they granted none but only during Pleasure, that is as long as they pleased them in perverting Justice: And secondly, they would never assign any certain Fund for their Salaries, which made them precarious, and liable to the Temptation of deserving full and speedy Payment. As for the Equity of the Royal Brothers, you may learn it from the Decrees of their Chancellors, who were the Keepers of their Conscience. Their Father before them did by the same Arts procure some Judges to declare, that, without Consent of Parliament, he might, in Case of Necessity, levy Money on his Subjects, and that he was to be Judge of that Necessity. But as if they feared that those two Hanks were not enough, they culled out for their Purpose the most stupid immoral, and illiterate, they could rake out of the Inns of Court. I cannot say they were all a Disgrace to the Bar, for some of them seldom appeared there, but most of them were a Scandal to their Profession. The few honest Gen-

tlemen they promoted at any time, to gain some Countenance to the rest, could do nothing to their Minds; and, if likely to live, were soon laid aside, as were all those who in any Case shewed the least Respect for the Laws, though in other Matters they had gone never so far. Thus was Justice made a mere Property to be bought and sold, and all Judgments given according to Directions from Court. They discharged Grand Juries in an illegal manner, and before the usual time; because they received Presentments against Papists, or for otherwise performing their Duty. They suppressed all Books against Popery and arbitrary Power, or that represented any Grievances of the Nation. They inflicted cruel Punishments, and imposed excessive Fines, not suited to the Quality of the Offence, or the Ability of the Person. They often refused to accept Bail, where the Law allowed it, or required such excessive Bail as amounted to a Refusal. They were rather Parties on the Bench than indifferent Judges, threatening, and scurrilously abusing the Prisoners brought before them, or such as appeared on their behalf. They made no Bones of giving Judgment against all the Charters of the Kingdom. They spared no Man's Blood, which the King or his Ministers had a mind to spill, and favoured Popery openly; not that they had so much even of erroneous Conscience left as to lye for God, or to do any Mischief for the Zeal they bore to any Religion: But because this was the Will and Pleasure of these Kings, whose Creatures they were. Now all this was purely the Effects of the Nation's being divided into Parties: For the Tories supported these Judges as long as

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their cruel and illegal Proceedings were confined to the Whigs ; not considering that they, who help to set up Arbitrary Power, bring their own Posterity into the same miserable Condition with their Enemies : Nor can they be sure that the Prince they have gratified shall not forget their Services, and are without all Defence against his Tyranny if he should. This happened in Effect to be the Case of our Tory Friends. We related before with what Ingratitude they were treated by King *James*, how they had Recourse to the Assistance of the Whigs for their Deliverance, and even out-did the latter in highly complaining of the Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom ; so true a Guide is Nature when permitted to act freely, and that its Dictates are not forcibly stifled or corrupted. Yet was King *James* no sooner out of the Throne, than several of them seemed impatient to have him recalled ; but I have lost all Charity for those Men, because I cannot persuade myself but that they saw Popery must be as certain a Consequence of his Restoration, as I would be sure that a Man was resolved to drown the Country of *Holland*, though he would make me believe that he only disliked the Dikes, which I found him labouring to destroy. But to return to the Judges, though it is the Business of such as may write the History of those Reigns to enumerate the Particulars of their Villany, yet I cannot forbear mentioning that Mr. Baron *Weston*, at the *Surrey* Assizes in *Kingstone*, after railing in his Charge against *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and their Protestant Followers in this Kingdom, *They are restless*, said he, *amusing us with Fears, and nothing will serve them*

but a Parliament. For my Part I know no other Representative of the Nation but the King. All Power centers in him. It is true, he does intrust it with his Ministers, but he is the sole Representative: And I faith he has Wisdom enough to intrust it no more with these Men, who have given such late Examples of their Wisdom and Faithfulness. These Words being proved against him by Gentlemen of good Credit, were voted by a Committee of the House of Commons, scandalous to the Reformation, and tending to the Subversion of the Government. King James, who loved to make shorter Work than his Brother, procured a Sentence from them at last, that as a Right belonging to the Crown, he had Power to dispense with the Laws, and to suspend, stop, or disable any, or all of them, at his Pleasure: As if it were in the Power of the twelve Judges, answers King William in his first Declaration, to offer up the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be disposed of by him arbitrarily, and at his Pleasure, and expressly contrary to Laws enacted for the Security of the Subjects. He adds, that in order to the obtaining this Judgment, the King's evil Counsellors did before-hand examine secretly the Opinion of the Judges, and procured such of them, as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence, to be turned out; and others to be substituted in their rooms, till by the Changes which were made in the Courts of Judicature, they at last obtained that Judgment. I need not say, that some of those Judges were professed Papists; and if we may guess at the Conscience of the rest by their Actions, we may without Breach of Charity believe, that they

they would never burn for the Protestant Religion, who made nothing but Words and Paper of all the Laws in its Favour. To make such Men the Judges of Equity and Law, was literally committing the Sheep to the Care of Wolves: And the People had Reason to fear them more, than all the Rogues which good Judges were made to prevent. King *James's* wonderful Politics were grounded on the mean Opinion he had of his Subjects Understanding, who, he thought, as long as they heard of the Word *Law*, and that he did nothing without the Opinion of the Judges, would believe all to be safe: Whereas they must have a worse Understanding than his own, who did not see that this was governing without any Law or Reason. But in the present Reign we have got an Act of Parliament to continue the Judges for their Lives, *quam diu bene se gesserint*, or, as they word it in *Scotland*, *ad vitam aut culpam*: And to King *William's* eternal Honour be it remembered, that there were not so many Men of Ability, Worth, and Integrity, known to be placed on the Bench at any time. Great Commendations are given to *Cromwell's* Judges, and to give the Devil his due, he deserved well of the Nation in that Particular. But, except the good Sir *Matbew Hales*, they were much inferior to most of those advanced since the late Revolution. I believe no Age could parallel the two Chief Justices, Sir *John Holt* and Sir *George Treby*; but since doing Justice to the Living is sometimes unjustly counted Flattery, I will only say, that the latter (who I hear is lately dead) was not only a very polite and accomplished Gentleman, but was also acknowledged
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to be Master of more universal Learning than commonly those of his Profession either can or care to be. Here we may remark the King's good Disposition when it is fully in his Power to oblige the Nation: For I have made it appear in the foregoing Articles, that our Religious, Politic, and Parliamentary Divisions, are so generally spread, that it is not in his Power to destroy them suddenly; but having this Matter wholly in his Disposal, he has removed all Corruption from the Bench. Indeed we still want an Act to ascertain some Fund for the Salary of the Judges, and there was a Bill, since the Revolution, past both Houses of Parliament to this Purpose: But whether it was for being any way defective or otherwise, that his Majesty refused to assent to it, I cannot remember; but I know the Reason satisfied me at that time. And I make no doubt but he will consent to any good Bill of this Nature whenever it is offered, which cannot be too soon, considering the Uncertainty of what may happen after his Death; and that every precious Moment of his Life ought to be improved to encrease or secure Felicity. We ought to be the more concerned about this Point, by reason of its great Importance to the Preservation of our Lives and Properties, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom: For, as a * Man of the late Times has it, *what French Councils, what Standing Forces, what Parliamentary Bribes, what National Oaths, and all the other Machinations of wicked Men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiously acted by twelve Judges in Scarlet; or, as Sir Matthew Hales used to express it, by twelve Redcoats in Westminster-Hall.* CHAP.

* Author of the *Growth of Popery.*

C H A P. VI.

The Art of governing by Parties in the Ministry.

AT length we come to the great Spring, Management, and Refuge of all Party-making and Factions, I mean the Ministers of State. Under a Prince that loves to govern by the Division of braver Citizens, his Officers are generally culled out of a Party, or at least for pretending to be of one; they are to create Parties where yet there are none, and to keep the Differences on foot among those already made to their Hands. No Ecclesiastic ever boasted of a greater Change in his spiritual Faculties since he had received the indelible Character, than these would persuade us to happen in their Understandings as soon as they are admitted into the Secrets of Princes. Such as before were thought at most to be only on a level with their Neighbours (and claimed no more themselves, but were glad to be allowed so much) once they get footing within the Court, become sawcy to their Betters, despise their Equals, and trample on their Inferiors. All of a sudden they have a wondrous Gravity in their Looks and Motions; affect the wise Grimace and considering Nod; grow perfect Strangers to their old Acquaintance; and must be approached by none without a world of Ceremony, which nothing can excuse but a Bribe. But they value themselves above all things on their profound Skill in the *Arcana Imperii*, and tho', in the ordinary Actions of Life, they possess a
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very moderate Share of Reason ; yet they pretend to be absolute Masters of what they call *Reason of State*. Our Ministers of late Years have made less Noise about this same Reason of State, than the *Italians* did in the beginning of this last Age, and for some time before : When in reality Reason of State is nothing else but the right Reason of managing the Affairs of the State at Home and Abroad, according to the Constitution of the Government, and with regard to the Interest or Power of other Nations. Our Reason of State abroad is to keep *England* the Head of the Protestant Interest in particular ; and to hold such an equal Balance among foreign States in general, that none of them grow great enough so to gain on any other as that we may come to be Losers by it. Our Reason of State at home, is to administer the Government for the Good of the Subjects according to the known Laws of the Land, and suitable to the Nature of our fundamental Constitution. But among corrupt Ministers, Reason of State has ever been, what *Boccaline* defines in his *Advertisements from Parnassus*, *a certain peculiar Law of their own, which is contrary in all Things to the Laws of God and Man*. Their Reason of State abroad is generally betraying our State at home ; and their Reason of State at home is to cheat the People as much as they can. Their deepest Policy lies in the Invention of little Tricks, which they take abundance of Pains to conceal ; and if the King or themselves fall in Danger of being brought into Discredit or Distress by such mean Artifices, then he that finds out some new Trick to shift Affairs, or to ward

ward the present Blow, what a celebrated Statesman must he be esteemed ever after ! and his Reputation is upheld, tho' the speedy Discovery of his juggling or bungling should reduce Matters into a far worse Condition than they were. *They love to fish in troubled Waters*, says a certain † Author, *and they find all Disorders profitable to themselves. They can flatter the Humour of a misguided Prince, and increase their Fortunes by the Excesses of a wasteful Prodigal. The Phrensy of an imperious Woman is easily rendered propitious to them, and they can turn the Zeal of a violent Bigot to their Advantage. The Treacheries of false Allies agree with their own Corruptions ; and they fear nothing so much as that the King should return to his People, and keep all things quiet, so they almost ever render themselves subservient to such as would disturb them.* And that I may add a great deal in a few Words, Tricks are so much practised, encouraged, and authorized among them, that a Minister, who should regulate his Conduct or Intrigues by the moral Rules of Prudence, might pass for an honest Man, but would be counted a very sad Politician. All the Villanies of all kinds that we have hitherto shewn to have been acted in Church and State, in Parliament or on the Bench, with innumerable others which I have neither Time nor Occasion to mention, were contrived, managed, and put in execution by the Ministers of our late Kings, of whom some principal Men are yet alive, and in the undisturbed Possession of what they got by selling

* A just and modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments of King Charles the Second.

their

their Country ; a noble Instance of the Mildness of this Reign ! King *William*, in every Paragraph of his Declaration, justly charges those evil Counsellors with all the Mischiefs he came over to redress ; nay, he says much worse things of them than I have laid to their Charge in this whole Discourse. Yet so far were any of them from being punished, that none of them was ever questioned, to the no small Amazement of all *Europe*. His Enemies were not wanting to insinuate that the old Rogues were spared, to encourage a new Gang to tread in their Steps. But the Malice and Falsity of this Suspicion is notorious ; first, because his Majesty has once or twice turned off his own Ministers, when they gave Subject of complaint to his People ; and secondly, because King *James's* Judges were not hanged, which in fact appears not to have been omitted to encourage other Judges by their Impunity. But should he, according to the present Surmizes, take any of those very Persons into his Councils, then some body else must be found to justify him ; for, I confess, I have not one Word to say in Excuse of such extraordinary Proceedings. There are able and honest Men enough among the reputed Whigs and Tories, that have never yet forfeited their Reputation ; and, besides the publick Actions of the old Ministers, which are known to all Mankind, there are yet worse Machinations against our Religion and Liberty, which the Iniquity of the late Times would not bear to come abroad, nor did they seem necessary in this Reign. But if the Fortune of *England* is to be committed again into the same Hands, it may be reasonably supposed they shall no

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want a due Warning of their Danger. But to leave Particulars, let's consider a little the Management of Ministers under good and bad Princes all over the World. To begin with the latter, the Ministers are commonly chosen out of that Party who owes a Revenge to the other, and consequently will oblige the King with any thing, on condition he gratifies their Passion against their Enemies. But when either this Party, by their own Violence and the Knavery of such Tools becomes odious to the Nation; or when the Ministers are disowned in their Tricks by those very People that first set them up; then the Prince makes his Court to the other Party who are now become the strongest, and chuses some popular Men among them for his Confidants and Counsellors. Nevertheless this Party-Business is all the while but a meer Blind, for Matters go on just as they did; where one left off the other begins: In Tory, out Whig; in Whig, out Tory; but you must all serve the same Design, if you would merit or retain your Employments. Their Pulses are felt by Men of Experience; and, if any Doubt remains of their complying Disposition, they must promise beforehand, or all their Zeal for a Party will not signify a Straw. But this one Mischief is inevitable, that they are supported a long while by the Credit of their Party, who can't immediately discover the Cheat; and are loth to quit them when they do, for fear of Power's falling into the Hands of their Enemies, thinking it more advisable to bear with the Failings of old Friends, than to stand at the Mercy of known Foes. And the Ministers on the other hand improve this Humour so well, that they are before every Sessions
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of Parliament perpetually buzzing in the Ears of their Party, that they are all to be turned off for their Sakes ; and that, this, and that, and the other Man of the opposite Faction is to be brought in : Wherefore they must vigorously stand by them now, and oblige the King in his present Desires, which otherwise would be granted by their Enemies. There is a Place in the World where this is a common Practice, and where Ministers are even tempted to be Knaves by the Countenance they expect from their Party ; though if no such Place had been, yet whoever writes methodically on any Subject may lawfully suppose a'l possible Cases. Another Piece of Policy among some Princes is to take obscure Persons into their Favour or Ministry, and suddenly to raise them to plentiful or rather monstrous Fortunes : For such Men will do certain mean Things, in which Persons of better Rank or Souls will scorn to be employed ; they will do other Things which may not be always safely intrusted with Men that have a great Stake or Interest in their Country ; and they call it Ingratitude to refuse any thing to a Prince to whom they are obliged for their Estates or Honours, and on whom they depend for a Protection, it may be, from common Justice. Ministers chosen for such rare Qualifications are the fittest to distribute Pensions to some, Places to others, to tempt one by a drunken Bout or a Song whom no Employment could seduce, and to become all Things to all Men, that they may gain some. But the best of Princes are not secure from the ill Effects of those Cormorants, Bloodsuckers, and Harpies. They excuse themselves for their Faults to the People,

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as if forced to act against their Inclinations by their Master; and they attribute all his good Deeds to their own Persuasion and Influence. Base Prostitutes! thus to rob their Benefactor of his Glory, and to own they are Men to be awed themselves into Wickedness. They likewise falsely tell the Prince, that nobody will serve him if he suffers any of his Ministers (though never so criminal) to be punished; whereas wise and honest Men will the sooner accept Employments, and be content to undergo the Trouble (for a Trouble it is to all who make a Conscience of their Duty) as long as they are permitted to act for the Good of their Country: But if the King should go about to put them on any indirect Measures, they will either happily divert him from such an ill Resolution, or honourably resign their Places, and merit the Applause of all good Men. But ill Ministers, depending on this Indemnity by Prescription, value not a rush what the World say of them, knowing they must fall softly at last, and make as good a Figure as the best, with those Estates they have raised by such vile and unjust Means. This encourages them universally to follow the same Practices, and notwithstanding the Allegations against them be as clear as the Sun, yet there is not a Man of them obliged to refund. It is the strangest Paradox in Nature, that any good Prince should be infatuated with such a Maxim as this, of never suffering his Ministers to be touched, when the meanest Artificers are responsible, not only for their deliberate Faults, but even for their involuntary Mistakes. I shall never have done if I enter on the Particulars of their base, insolent, and desperate Actions. But yet I must not forget how indut-

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trious they are at all Times to terrify and nickname those who dare find Fault with their Management, or that endeavour to stem the Tide of their mercenary Administration. In the late Reigns none were counted loyal who did not promote their Designs ; and whoever blames them in this, they will have him taken for an *Enemy to the Government* : Nor would they speak amiss if they always meant their own, I believe they do. But none are truer Friends to his Majesty, than such as most vigorously oppose the Men who thus plainly abuse him. They are heartily for the *present Government*, tho' not always for the *present Way of governing*. How often have the Ministers deceived our Kings in the Accounts they gave them of the Sense of the Nation, and making them believe how generally their own Conduct was approved, which is not sometimes discovered to be false till it proves too late to apply a Remedy : For Kings are mostly so beset by those Locusts in their Palaces, and excluded to such a degree from all Commerce with the rest of their Subjects, that they can scarce be counted Creatures having any use of their Organs, seeing with their own Eyes, or hearing with their own Ears. Then they have not only their little Spies, Trepanners, and Informers, in every Corner of the Nation ; but they have likewise their Coffee-House and Chocolate Apostles, to magnify with nauseous and repeated Flatteries their Parts, Learning, Justice, Moderation, and Wisdom : These have their set Hours for this new kind of preaching ; and are more zealous to spread Lyes from behind a Table, than others are sometimes in propagating Truth out of the Pulpit.

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The Poets too strive with all their might to outdo one another, not in Composition, Elegance, or Stile; but in their forced Encomiums of those who keep the Purse, especially if it be a Poetic Ministry, as there has been such a Phoenix not long since in some Part of the World. But of all their Ways of abusing the King, what seems the most impudent to me is, that they must be hired forsooth to accept of their Preferments: I mean, when Men in considerable Posts, nay Men who fill three or four great Posts at once, must yet be farther gratified with annual Pensions, or vast Sums of Money on particular Occasions, and this be called a Reward of their Services. Heretofore with us in *England*, and at this present time in all good Governments on Earth, great Places have been esteemed natural and sufficient Rewards to the Learning, Valour, or any other Excellence of those who were most capable to discharge them; and Pensions or other Gratuities used to be conferred on such deserving Men on whom there were not Places enough left to bestow. But our Ministers (for we must sometimes take notice of them, lest we be thought partial by others) some of our Ministers, I say, were not content with such additional Presents of Money to supply the Defect of their Places in rewarding their Merit, but have procured to themselves unreasonable and exorbitant Grants of the forfeited Estates in *Ireland*, though the Nation was at that time, as it still continues, overwhelmed with Debt, and the Government in present and urgent Need of Money. It is true the Parliament has with no little Difficulty since resumed those Lands (as I hope they will do

the *English* Grants this Session) and apply them to the Use of the Public, where they are like to reach a very great way, notwithstanding all the excepting Clauses of the Act. But how many more of our Debts might have been paid, if this Course were taken from the beginning ; whereas now the Rents of several Years are dropt into those Gentlemens Pockets? And yet when all is done, I am fully persuaded, that if the King had not been deceived, as well in the Value of the Grants, as in the Merit of some of the Grantees ; and that if he had given a moderate Share of them to Men of known Desert, and more proper Objects of his Liberality, it would have been so far from disgusting any, that every Body would have applauded his Justice and Generosity. Now in general of all Ministers, there is a vast Difference to be put between a Prince that governs a Party by them, and a Prince that is governed by them to a Party. As for the first, I have said enough concerning such a one already in the Person of *Charles* the Second, and God be praised we labour now under no such Grievance, though we yet suffer the miserable Effects of his Kingcraft. As for a Prince under the Influence of his Ministers, he cannot be properly said to govern, but rather to be governed according to the various Passions of his Officers and Favourites : For it is plain, that all Applications for Justice, Favour, or Preferment, is made to such at home ; and that the Ambassadors, and Agents of foreign Princes (instead of considering the Prince's Judgment, or what is due to the Interest of the State) make it their chief Business to study the Humours of those about him.

him. But let us suppose a King (though we need make no Suppositions, when we have actually one of our own) who neither governs by Parties, nor is governed to any Party by his Ministers; yet it is out of his Power (though endued with ever so much Caution and Penetration) not to be frequently deceived, abused, and endangered by their Tricks and selfish Ends, of which we need not alledge any Examples after what is already said in this Chapter and before. Nor need I inculcate how, without his Knowledge, they may correspond with foreign Princes, to his irreparable Disgrace, and the Damage of the Nation. Every body understands the Power of *French* Gold in all the Courts of *Europe*, and that it has no where more prevailed than once in *England*. The same Monarch who bribed King *Charles* and King *James's* Ministers, and who made Pensioners of themselves, is still alive; he has more Reason now to fear the Strength of *England* than ever, and therefore we may rationally believe will leave nothing unattempted to gain Intelligence or Interest in our Court. With all the Faults of the apostate Whigs, I don't believe they could ever be reconciled to *France*, though they might not scruple so much to scrape for a Fortune at home: But the old Tory Ministers have not only been guilty of that Practice formerly, which they may as well be now or at any time hereafter; but they are thoroughly versed in this Mystery of Iniquity; they remember all the necessary Steps and Turns to be taken in it; and their Friends on t'other Side the Water know better how to deal and traffick with these than any other. If it should ever happen therefore that

his Majesty shewed any Intentions of putting himself and us into the Hands of such a Ministry; he would do well to consider, whether, besides all the other Inconveniencies to be justly apprehended from such an unexpected proceeding, there be not likewise more of *French* Advice in it than he is aware. They are greatly mistaken who think the Actions of any Prince will be excused by laying the Blame on his Ministers; 'Tis a common manner of speaking indeed, but at the Bottom a modest Way of censuring the Prince himself, who, if he did not approve their Conduct, might easily make a better Choice. We find all things laid to the Charge of evil Counsellors in his Majesty's own *Declaration*; yet King *James* was justly deposed, and his Counsellors ought as justly to have been hanged at that Time, instead of being at any Time since or now preferred. *Macchiavel* says very truly, that the Wisdom of a Prince never takes Beginning from the Wisdom of his Council, but the Wisdom of the Council always from the Wisdom of the Prince. If therefore our future Kings either want the Mind or the Ability to chuse the fittest Persons into their Ministry to serve the Nation, the Parliament will be obliged to recommend such as shall be answerable to the Publick for their Actions; and yet do nothing herein, but what (as has been often proved) their Ancestors have commonly practised; for the Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Lord High Admiral of *England*, the Lord Treasurer of *England*, the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and all the Officers that have the Name of *England* added to them, were formerly nominated (as a late Author tells us)

us) by the Representatives of the People of *England* assembled in Parliament. Nor would it be any Wonder should they resume this Power, if ever the worst Ministers of the late Reigns, the declared Enemies of the present Government, or any of those evil Counsellors so dreadfully described in his Majesty's *Declaration*, should be thought the only Men fit to serve him ; while those are neglected or distrusted who invited him hither, placed the Crown on his Head, maintained him ever since on the Throne, and faithfully served him against all his Enemies both at home and abroad. This Liberty I use with him (and which is no more than Freemen may and will use, let officious Flatterers tell him never so much to the contrary) is wholly intended for his Service and Advantage. I should not have told him half so much Truth, had I followed a certain Minister's cautious Admonition ; for 'tis a Maxim with most of that Sort, that *all Kings whatsoever would be arbitrary* : But as I believe some Exceptions may be found to this Rule, so had it been never so clear a Demonstration, I should have the more strenuously asserted our native Liberties ; which made me reject that Gentleman's slavish Advice with Scorn and Detestation. The Picture of corrupt Ministers was never so well drawn to the Life as by the great Colonel *Sidney* in the 25th Section of the Second Part of his *Discourses concerning Government*. He shews there, that the Senates of free Governments are not so subject to Venality as the Courts of Princes, where Bawds, Whores, Buffoons, Players, Slaves, and other mercenary People, are, according to him, most prevalent.

He asks a Question, which every one may resolve for himself, Whether the *Cornelii, Junii, Fabii, Valerii, Quintii, Curii, Fabritii*, and others who prevailed most in *Rome* after the Expulsion of the Kings, or *Sejanus, Macro, Narcissus, Pallas, Icetas, Tigellinus, Vinnius, Laco, Agrippina, Messalina, Lollia, Poppæa*, and the like, were most subject to the basest Vices? And whether it were more easy to corrupt one or two of those Villains and Strumpets, than the Senate and People of *Rome, Carthage, Athens, or Sparta*? After a large Discourse on this Subject, he comes at last to sum up the Character of evil Ministers, charging them with the most detestable Traffick in procuring or disposing of Preferments; with Rapine, Violence, Bribery, Fraud, and all kinds of slavish Dealing. ‘ These Things, *says he*,
‘ are inseparable from the Life of a Courtier;
‘ for as servile Natures are guided rather by
‘ Sense than Reason, such as addict themselves
‘ to the Service of Courts, find no other Conso-
‘ lation in their Misery than what they receive
‘ from sensual Pleasure, or such Vanities as they
‘ put a Value upon; and have no other Care
‘ than to get Money for their Supply by Beg-
‘ ging, Stealing, Bribing, and other infamous
‘ Practices. Their Offices are more or less
‘ esteemed, according to the Opportunities they
‘ afford for the Exercise of those Virtues; and
‘ no Man seeks them for any other End than for
‘ Gain, nor takes any other Way than that
‘ which conduces to it. The usual Means of
‘ attaining them are by observing the Prince’s
‘ Humour, flattering his Vices, serving him in
‘ his Pleasures, fomenting his Passions, and by
‘ advancing

advancing his worst Designs; to create an
 Opinion in him that they love his Person, and
 are entirely addicted to his Will. When Va-
 lour, Industry, and Wisdom advanced Men
 to Offices, it was no easy Matter for a Man to
 persuade the Senate he had such Qualities as
 were required, if he had them not. But
 when Princes seek only such as love them,
 and will do what they command, 'tis easy
 to impose upon them; and because none
 that are good will obey them, when they
 command that which is not so, they are al-
 ways encompassed by the worst. Those who
 follow them only for Reward are most liberal
 in professing Affection to them, and by that
 Means rise to Places of Authority and Power.
 The Fountain being thus corrupted, nought
 that is pure can come from it. These mer-
 cenary Wretches having the Management of
 Affairs, Justice and Honour are set at a
 Price, and the most lucrative Traffick in
 the World is thereby established. *Eutro-
 pius*, when he was a Slave, used to pick
 Pockets and Locks, but being made a Mi-
 nister, he sold Cities, Armies, and Provinces.
 And some have undertaken to give probable
 Reasons to believe that *Pallas*, one of *Claudius*'s
 manumised Slaves, by these Means
 brought together more Wealth in six Years,
 than all the *Roman* Dictators and Consuls had
 done from the Expulsion of the Kings to their
 Passage into *Asia*. The rest walked in the
 same Way, used the same Arts, and many
 of them succeeded in the same Manner. Their
 Riches consisted not of Spoils taken from Ene-
 mies, but were the base Product of their own
 Corruption.

‘ Corruption. They valued nothing but Money, and those who could bribe them were sure to be advanced to the highest Offices; and, whatever they did, feared no Punishment. Like Effects will ever proceed from the like Causes.’ There is a great deal more to this Purpose, and more home, in that Section, very much deserving every Man’s Perusal, but too long to be transcribed in this Place, and too well expressed to be better done by any other.

C H A P. VII.

The ill Effects of Parties on the People in general, and the King in particular.

I Need not add much more, having spoke so largely already of the ill Effects which Parties have on the People, by dividing them in their Principles and Interest, which weakens their Power, corrupts their Morals, and at last dissolves the Government itself. That a worse Mischief cannot befall any Nation than Divisions and Factions, is attested with one Voice by the Experience of all Men and Times; yet few Places are exempt from this Distemper, though some are more inclined to it by their Constitution than others. I won’t enter into the Debate whether Commonwealths or Monarchies are most subject to Seditions, nor make any Parallel of the Advantages or Inconveniencies in the several Forms; but in this mixed one of ours, there is a Disproportion somewhere that occasions such frequent Quarrels, to the composing of which every

every one ought to lend his helping Hand. All the Men of Parts among us, instead of doing effectual Service to their Country, are become perfectly useless to it; or, which is much worse, they are made the Instruments of its Ruin by turning those Forces against one another, which by Nature were intended for our Glory and Defence both at Home and Abroad. They act for the most part out of private Interest or Revenge, either making a shew of their Abilities in order to be feared or courted by the other Side; or employing their whole Vigour against those whom they hate or envy, which is the certain Way to perpetuate our Differences. In the mean time no Quarter is given on any hand to those who will not inrol themselves in some Faction, but are disposed to bring things to an intire Union, or at least to hold the Balance so even betwixt the Parties that they may not destroy one another. These Men of Peace and publick Spirit are in Matters of State branded with the Name of *Trimmers*; and, with respect to their Opinions in Religion, they are called *Latitudinarians*; hated, as I said, by all the rest, but particularly persecuted by those designing Men who find their Account in the Dissensions of others, lest their Moderation and calm Admonitions should undeceive the World, and so put an End to this detestable Trade; for though many act in good earnest from a true or mistaken Persuasion, yet most are prompted by private Views of Revenge or Interest, while they delude others to their Assistance by the specious Pretence of Principles and Conscience. That worthy Gentleman therefore was surely in the right, who, last Session of Parliament,

openly

openly said in the House of Commons, that all Parties in the Church were Hypocrisy, which was the same thing with Knavery in the State. This Consideration should bring us to cooler Thoughts and better Temper, both with regard to the Time past and to come. *While we conspire together*, says the Earl of Clarendon in one of his Speeches to the Parliament, 1660, *to put all old Names and Terms of Distinction into utter Oblivion; let us not find new Names and Terms to keep up the same, or a worse Distinction. If the old Reproaches of Cavalier, and Roundhead, and Malignant, be committed to the Grave; let us not find more significant and better Words to signify worse Things.* But if the Exhortations of that great Man had so little good Effect, that they could not prevent the contumelious Nick-Names of Whig and Tory, I cannot hope to succeed better; yet this shall not hinder me from discharging my Conscience, and paying that Duty which I am bound to my Country. I might here display the tragical Consequences of Parties in all Regions of the World, the known Story of the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*, the *Guelphs* and *Ghibelins* in Italy, the *Veneti* and *Prasini* under *Justinian*; I might pathetically describe the Barbarities they perpetrated on one another, their secret Murders and Assassinations, open Wars and Slaughters; Robberies, Plunders, and Devastations; the entire Ruin and deplorable Catastrophe of Families, Cities and Countries; the Confusion of all Ties and Obligations of Kindred, Marriage, Love, Friendship, Neighbourhood, or Commerce: I might enlarge on such dismal Themes as these, could I suppose there wanted foreign Examples,
when

when we have suffered at home in Epitome whatever of this Sort has been any where known in the World. Yet notwithstanding the Multitude of our former Distinctions, and the Care incumbent on us in these dangerous Conjunctions to accommodate all Differences, there is a fresh Division lately grown up among us, I mean the New and Old *East-India Companies*; which, though seeming at first Sight to regard but a few Merchants, have not only miserably divided the Capital City of this Nation, and consequently all the Boroughs, by reason of their dealing there, but they are so universally spread, that Whig and Tory, and all other Parties are swallowed up by them; not abolished (which were to be wished) but sheltered under these new Names. They have already introduced a most pernicious Custom, unknown and believed impossible before in *London*, the corruption of Elections by private Entertainments, publick Feasts, and Bribes. This is now as notoriously practised there as at *Stockbridge*; and both Parties interest themselves in all manner of Elections, threatening even to turn off their Workmen if they will not vote as they would have them. They are both endeavouring who shall engross the Court, that is all the publick Advantages and Premiums for lending Money, to themselves. They are both labouring to exclude one another, and all others, from the greatest Part of our foreign Trade; and, for aught we know, it may come at last to such a Pass at home, that People may scruple to deal with any that is or is not of this or that Company, as their Interest or Affection may bias them. I will not dispute now how prejudicial

judicial or advantageous the *East-India* Trade in general may be to this Nation, which Parts of it are better or worse, nor what may be the Fate of it from the Separation or Union of the two Companies: Neither will I relate the Birth of the new Company, the Faults objected to the old, or what these retorted on their Adversaries. But supposing what you will of the Original of the new, yet according to the old saying, *Quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*; it is one of those Things which cannot be undone, without undoing us all. Nevertheless it is commonly known that several Members of the old Company have been publickly menacing, for a Year past, that they would pay the new Company back their Money, and for the same Advantages of Trade lend as much to the Government at 5 instead of 8 *per Cent.* Interest. The Pretence indeed is to lessen the public Charge, but their way of paying the National Debts is by ruining the Credit of the Nation. It was always a Maxim in Government not to exasperate too many at a time, though never so guilty; and if the Members of the old Company have been such Clogs on the Wheels since the Erection of the new, how much more will the latter be so, considering that they are a great deal more numerous; and that not only they and their Families, but all others who trade with them, will think themselves nearly affected? The Bargain with them was deliberate and above-board, transacted with the same Forms and Solemnity as other Acts of Parliament; but if it should on any Pretence be made void, the Mischiefs are innumerable that would follow. Foreigners hold our Parliamentary Faith to be
sacred

sacred and inviolable, which encouraged them to come into most of our Funds, and to be as much concerned as ourselves about the Preservation of the present Government: But if the Overtures of the old Company should be once received, or indeed encouraged, there is an end of all Credit with other Countries. But the greatest Mischief will be the inevitable Ruin of our Credit at home, for no body will ever part with their Money again to the Government on any Terms, be the Premiums never so great or tempting, since the Parliament may as well break their Engagements at one time as at another, and instead of reducing the Interest from Eight to Five, they may with as plausible Pretences bring it from five to one, or, what is more effectual, not pay a Groat of the Principal, which will better Discharge the whole Debt instead of a Part. I dread to think, after such a manifest Violation of the public Faith, what would become of us if we should happen to fall into any urgent or indispensable Necessity of raising Money, whether to oppose an Invasion at home, or to maintain a Fleet or Forces abroad, which the present Circumstances of *Europe* do not render unlikely to happen very quickly. If the late King *James*, the supposed Prince of *Wales*, or any other Pretender, should offer to make good all the Funds, and to restore what had been thus unjustly transferred, it is not impossible but that those, who thought themselves already injured, and such as feared to undergo the same Condition, would prefer their private Interest to the public Safety. But what involves all other Evils in itself alone, this is the certain way to bring
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us at one Stroke under that Slavery we have ever so bravely resisted, and those be made the Instruments of establishing Tyranny who have been hitherto the Guardians of our Liberty. There is no other public Credit in *England*, but that of the Parliament. The Bankers, and all concerned with them, well remember King *Charles* the Second's shutting up the *Exchequer*. But if a Parliament should once break their Contracts with us, to whom shall we seek Protection, or who shall be afterwards trusted with disposing of the public Revenues. None but Fools be deceived by the Pretence that the five *per Cent.* Project will be established by Act of Parliament: For besides the Reasons I have already offered, that Parliaments, no more than private Men, should not break their Words, and that if they do they must no more expect to be trusted than private Men, with the other Mischiefs to be apprehended; it is likewise very sure, that Iniquity may be established by a Law, but that no Sanction whatsoever can make Injustice to be a Virtue. I need not add that the old Company themselves would be equal Sufferers in all the Consequences of such an Infraction of Credit, whereof the least must be, that they had no Security why the five *per Cent.* and Liberty of Trading, might not as well be transferred to others, who offered more or less, as Occasion required. But as Experience is the Servant of wise Men, and the Mistress of Fools, we may observe, that the like Attempts have been made many hundred Years ago in *Egypt*, *Greece*, *Italy*, and other Places, not only for reducing the Interest due from the Public, but even to discharge the Debts of private

private Persons, as if the way of enabling them to pay Taxes to the Government, had been to defraud their Creditors. The best and wisest Men ever opposed these Proceedings, as destructive of all Equity, Faith, and Property, and occasioning Complaints, Revenge and Seditions. On the other hand, such as were obnoxious to the Laws, hated for their Villanies, overwhelmed with Debt, and that favoured or affected Tyranny, were always for diminishing or rescinding of Debts by particular Laws, whereby they pretended to ease the People, but indeed designed at bottom to destroy all public Faith, and to get large Shares in the Dissolution of the Government: Such were *Manlius*, *Cataline*, and especially *Julius Caesar*, at that very time that he was projecting the Ruin of his Country's Liberty. I should exceed the Bounds I proposed to myself, if I would produce all the Examples of this Kind which occur in History, with the Judgments of honest and prudent Men upon them. But it is observable, that as private Debts were never but once remitted in the beginning of the *Roman* Commonwealth, no Complaint beingever received afterwards on this occasion, except in a very urgent Conjunction, and then the Creditors were paid out of the common Treasury rather than be deprived of their Debts or stripped of their Property by a Law: So on the other hand, the Debts of the Public, though never so great and burdensome, were never discharged or lessened by any Law, which strict Observation of their Faith and Justice never let them want Money on any Occasion, and made the richest Citizens think their Wealth safer with the Government than

in their own Hands. It will not be amiss to hear what Doctrine one of their chief Magistrates has preached on this Occasion : I mean *Cicero*, who discourses largely of it to his Son, and among other Things, he says, that ‘ It must be the principal Care of him, who is at the Head of the Government, that every one be secured in his Property, and that the Estates of private Men be not diminished under Pretence of a public Good. Governments and Cities (says he) were constituted chiefly for this very Reason, that all Men might enjoy their own : For though Men associated together by Instinct of Nature, yet it was in Hopes of preserving their Goods that they invented the Fortifications of Cities.’ Then, after shewing what Care ought to be taken for maintaining the Credit of the Treasury, and that the People should be charged as little as possible with Taxes, or that in Case of Necessity they be punctually informed of their Danger, and convinced that without bearing some Burden they cannot be safe in any Thing ; after recommending Frugality and Moderation to the Ministers of State, and the avoiding of superfluous Expences or squandering the publick Money, he comes to speak of those who pretended to ease the People, sometimes by an Agrarian Law, or levelling Estates in Land, and at other Times by diminishing or rescinding public and private Debts. ‘ Those Men,’ says he, shake the Foundations of the Government, in the first Place dissolving Concord, which cannot consist with this way of taking Money from some, and giving it to others : Then, secondly, there is an end of all Equity,

' ty, if every Man may not keep his own;
 ' for (as I said above) it is essential to a Com-
 ' munity or City that it be free, and not un-
 ' der any Doubts or Fears about the Safety of
 ' their Possessions. But neither do such Persons
 ' obtain that Reputation, which they imagine
 ' to get by this Project so pernicious to the
 ' Government: For he that loses his Right, be-
 ' comes their Enemy, and he to whom it is
 ' transferred, seems only willing to receive it,
 ' and particularly conceals his Joy about their
 ' lessening the Debts, lest he should be thought
 ' unable to pay; whereas he that receives the
 ' Injury both remembers the Affront, and open-
 ' ly professes his Resentments. But should
 ' those be the greater Party, who wickedly re-
 ' ceive what is unjustly taken away from others,
 ' yet are they not therefore of greater Consider-
 ' ration: For these Things are not to be judg-
 ' ed by Number but Weight.' Afterwards he
 ' says, ' What Reason is there for this compound-
 ' ing of the public Debts, but that you shall
 ' buy Lands with my Money, you keep the
 ' Land and I lose my Money. Wherefore all
 ' Care ought to be taken that no Debts be
 ' suffered to grow which may endanger the
 ' Government. This may be prevented several
 ' ways: Or if it should happen, yet the
 ' Rich must not lose what is rightly their's,
 ' nor Debtors gain what is the Property of
 ' others. For nothing more firmly supports a
 ' Government than Credit, which cannot sub-
 ' sist unless there be an indispensable Obliga-
 ' tion of paying what they owe. This com-
 ' pounding for Debts was never more vehe-
 ' mently urged than in my Consulship. All

' sorts and degrees of Men were in Arms and
 ' Camps about it, to whom I resisted in such a
 ' manner, that this extraordinary Mischief was
 ' rooted of the Commonwealth. There was
 ' never a greater Debt owing, nor any better
 ' or easier paid; for the hope of Defrauding
 ' being taken away, there followed a Necessity
 ' of Payment. But indeed this (*Cæsar*) who
 ' is now a Conqueror, but was then subdued,
 ' put these Things in Execution which he had
 ' before projected, though his own Interest was
 ' no longer concerned: So great was his In-
 ' clination to do Mischief, that he would take
 ' Pleasure in it for Mischief's Sake, though
 ' he had no other Inducements. Therefore all
 ' those, who have a Hand in managing the
 ' Government, should abstain from this sort of
 ' Liberality which takes from some to give to
 ' others: And before all things provide that
 ' every one may keep his own by the Equity
 ' of Law, and public Judicatories; and that
 ' the meaner Sort be not circumvented for Want
 ' of Power, nor that the Wealthy be obstruct-
 ' ed by the Envy of others from keeping or
 ' recovering their Rights.' I need make no
 Application of these Passages to any of the Par-
 ties concerned, nor to the Bank of *England*, or
 the other Funds, which seem all to be involved
 in the same Destruction. But if we may com-
 pare antient with modern Instances, there is not
 a more ready or surer way at this Time of dis-
 tinguishing the certain Friends or Enemies of
 our free Government, than by observing who are
 for maintaining the public Faith, and who for
 breaking it on any Pretence whatsoever.

BUT they are not the People alone who suffer
 the ill Effects of being divided into Parties;
 their

their Magistrates, or the Administration of their Government, is dangerously affected by it, as, with us in *England*, the King is always under very ill Circumstances on such Occasions: But principally when those Factions are of his own Creation, the better to gain some undue Power above the Laws, or in order to any other indirect End; for it is never for any public Good, that Princes have recourse to those unmanly Shifts, but for something which cannot bear the Light, something that can never receive a common Approbation, and must therefore be forced from one Part of the Nation by the deluded or corrupt Assistance of the other. Such Kings, as I said before, are rather the Ringleaders of petty Clubs, than the Fathers of great Nations; and gain nothing at last; for they are as much hated by one Side as loved by the other, and have no Security against their Enemies becoming one time or other the stronger Party to their unavoidable Disgrace or Destruction. *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and *Charles* the First of *England*, owed their unquiet Lives and tragical Deaths, to their governing by Parties: *Charles* the Second was for the same Reason hated at home, despised abroad, distrusted every where, and intangled in such Difficulties as made his Reign sometimes violent, precarious at other times, and always uncertain. King *James* the Second, for preferring the smallest Party in his Dominions, not only to the greatest, but also to every one of the rest, brought them all to unite against him at last, and 'tis now reduced to live on Charity in another Country. Nor can any King of this Mould reasonably promise himself a better Fate, since every Thing he

undertakes by his Favourites will be obstructed by their Enemies ; and if he happens to have sincere Intentions, yet they must be suspected of course by those who are afraid to be traped by his Artifices. And, besides all these or other domestic Mischiefs, there is a Door hereby opened to his Enemies abroad, who will be sure to foment such Discords, and to grant secret or open Assistance to the Malecontents on proper Occasions. But what is worst of all, if a King is not constant to one Party, but apparently given to change, both will be apt to join against him at last, as one to be relied on by neither, and that has no real Affection for any Side, but purely acts for his own private Ends, which makes him cajole the one or the other, as they happen to have more Power or Credit in the Kingdom. In one word, there is no Oracle more certain than what Sir *William Temple* tells us, was pronounced by *Monf. Gourville*, namely, ' that a King of *England*, who will be the Man of his People, ' is the greatest King in the World ; but if he ' would be something more, by God he is no ' longer any thing'. Above all Things therefore the King should study to gain the general Love of his Subjects, which is a surer Pledge of their Obedience than any Oaths or Engagements of what Nature soever, of greater Security than the strongest Citadels or Armies. No Artifices of Malecontents, of unquiet or disaffected Persons, can make the People weary of the present Government, when they know the King is careful to preserve their civil and religious Liberties, to promote Trade, encourage Industry, to reward liberally, to punish severely,

ly, and to reform Manners. And now, since I am on this Head, I must own, that I wish there were an effectual Amnesty or Act of Indemnity past this ensuing Session. Many pretend no other Reason for continuing in the Interests of the late King, but having never been pardoned. I would not be mistaken; there have been general Pardons with glorious Preambles, but all clogged with unforgiving Clauses. There was a Time when it was necessary for King *William* to enquire who were his Enemies, and I fear he found such tampering then, as shews Necessity enough for Oblivion now. But it is not fit I should insist too much on this Hint. Some Whigs may probably stand in need of this Grace, though not in such Numbers as the Tories; and if his Majesty shall think it proper to grant one, I hope it will be (as the Bishop of *Salisbury* words it) according to the Compass of Royal Clemency, and such as will let his most inveterate Enemies see that they deserve no Tenderness if they remain so. If there be Men who never ought to be forgiven, they should be excepted by Name: For otherwise it is unavoidable but Multitudes must think themselves destined for Punishment, who are not the Persons concerned; and all these will naturally be endeavouring to subvert the Government, as the only way to preserve themselves. Such Pardons (though seldom given by Tyrants) have been always easily obtained in free Governments; for if the Disaffected are thereby reconciled, the grand Point is gained; but if, after so much Indulgence and Lenity, they shou'd enter on any new Practices, they deserve to be doubly punished, for their Treason and Ingratitude.

C H A P. VIII.

The ill Effects of Parties on all our Foreign Affairs.

WE come now to consider the ill Effects of Parties on our foreign Affairs; and it is very certain that every Thing attempted abroad to our Prejudice or Dishonour, has proceeded from an Opinion that our Broils at home leave us neither Force nor Leisure to right ourselves. For Examples hereof I shall never forget the Menaces of certain People to call those to an Account who advised the sending a Squadron to the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1695, though the Consequence was very honourable and advantageous to the Nation; And the like Speeches were uttered at the going of the last Squadron to the *Baltick*, though the glorious Progress of the *Swedish* King's Arms be wholly owing to that seasonable and powerful Assistance; for hereby he was enabled in so short a Space to beat two Kings and a formidable Emperor; to speak nothing of shewing our Strength in those Seas, which makes our Orders revered, our Friendship courted, and our Displeasure dreaded. This Spirit of Contradiction between the Parties may be exemplified in a thousand other Instances; and though in many Cases it proves dangerous to the Nation, yet I would charitably hope that so detested a Mischief is not always intended, though particular Resentments do often insensibly proceed to a general Discontent. But if we continue thus divided at home

home, catching at Opportunities, and using Advantages over one another, how is it possible for us to exert our Power abroad, either to keep the Balance of *Europe* equal, or to secure the Protestant Religion? As for the Balance, we must undoubtedly do our best to preserve it steady, or if the rest of *Europe* falls into one Scale, we must soon be depressed by the irresistible Weight; and if we stand by, as unconcerned Spectators, till this Work is done, the greatest Favour we must expect from our Neutrality, will be, like *Ulysses* in the Cave of *Polyphemus*, to be last devoured, which is but a miserable and unmanly Consolation. In the present Juncture of Affairs the thing most to be feared is a Union between *France* and *Spain*, which of course destroys not only all or the best Part of our Trade, but also our Liberty, and that of all the rest of *Europe*. The House of *Austria* was not near so powerful formerly, by reason of the Divisions in *Germany*, as such a Union will render the House of *Bourbon*, there being no distinct Sovereignty now in *France*, and the *Spaniards* not able of themselves to be troublesome if they would. And that the *French* will lose no Opportunity of effecting it, past and present Experience will not let us doubt; for they never yet stuck at any League or Treaty, when once they thought themselves able to break it, which should make all other join together to take it out of their power. They have been ever observed to have great and aspiring Thoughts, to which they are inclined by the Extent and Fruitfulness of their Territories, the Multitude of their People, and consequently the immense Revenues of their Kings; by which
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they are enabled to keep vast Numbers of Troops always on foot, the Goods and Persons of their Subjects being entirely at their Disposal. Nor have they ever failed to make use of this mighty Power; for at all times they have been encroaching on their Neighbours, restless in their Actions as well as their Humours, and constant Disturbers of Mankind, without ever being able to set any Bounds to their Ambition. *The French* (says the Baron D'Isola in his Buckler of State and Justice) *covet Harbours in Spain, Leagues in the Empire, Factions in Poland, Wars in England and Holland, Passes into Italy, and the sovereign Arbitrage every where. Their Quiet consists in the Trouble of all others, and their Advantage in the publick Calamities.* Wherefore it will be always the Interest of *Europe*, but above all others of *England*, to oppose the *French* Designs, it having been an uncontroverted Maxim with us hitherto, that *France must never be suffered to grow too great.* How much less therefore are their Projects to be encouraged by us, in actually giving them any Help, or denying effectual Assistance to their Enemies. They have been faithless in their Promises and Treaties, as may be proved by a thousand Instances; insolent, imperious, barbarous, and inexorable Conquerors; but in adverse Fortune the most abject, obsequious, and servile Flatterers in the World. The Way to preserve our Trade, to maintain our Sovereignty in the Seas, or to assert our Title to the Kingdom of *France*, is not to enable them to extend their Dominions any where; but least of all into the *Netherlands*, the *Mediterranean*, or the *West-Indies*. We do at present, as we have for some Years past, find
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the sad Effects of *Charles* the Second's betraying the Nation by helping them to Models of Ships, to Carpenters, Timber and Officers to train up their undisciplined Seamen, and to teach them the Art of Rigging out their Fleets: whereas, 'tis well known that *Queen Elizabeth* would not let *Henry* the Fourth, though her intimate Friend, build any Ships of Force without her Permission. but by whatever Steps the *French* arrived to their Greatness, we must not abandon ourselves, But rather endeavour with all our Might to bring down their Pride, or at least that they do not grow still stronger and stronger, till it be out of our Power to cope with them; and this will infallibly happen, if we suffer their present Conjunction with *Spain*. 'Tis true, that in consideration of our Trade, we must avoid, as much as may be, a War with the latter, and if they be abused by the *French*, or oppressed by their new King, we ought to give them all possible Assistance; but if they join with the *French*, we must not hesitate to oppose them, since it is much better to have one Branch of our Trade interrupted for some time, than to have all Commerce for ever destroyed. I shall hint at the Means of stopping the Progress of the *French* Greatness, after I have briefly considered the other Maxim we have in relation to foreign Affairs, to keep *England* the Head of the Protestant Interest all over the World. I hope I need not spend many Words to persuade *Englishmen* that Popery in general is an Extract of whatever is ridiculous, knavish or impious in all Religions; that it is Priestcraft arrived at the highest Perfection; that it contains peculiar Absurdities never known
in.

in any other Persuasion ; and that it is the most insolent Imposition that ever was made on the Credulity of Mankind. I might here truly represent the mischievous Influence of this abominable Superstition on the Morals and Understandings of its Professors ; how it subjects them to all manner of Tyranny and Oppression ; drains their Purses, as well as deprives them of their Reason ; how most of its Doctrines are calculated for the Advantage of the Priests ; what Authority these exercise over the Laity ; their Idolatry, Hypocrisy, Licentiousness, and Cruelty : But I shall only say with one of our Countrymen, * That ‘ if either Blasphemies
 ‘ against God, or Tyrannies over Men ; if ei-
 ‘ ther the defacing the Ideas of the Deity, or
 ‘ corrupting the Principles of Virtue and moral
 ‘ Honesty ; if either the subverting the Founda-
 ‘ tionsnatural of Religion, or the overthrowing the
 ‘ most essential Articles of the Christian Faith ;
 ‘ if either the most avowed and bold Affronts
 ‘ offered to Heaven, or the bloodiest and most
 ‘ brutal Outrages executed against the best of
 ‘ Men ; if all those be sufficient to preclude
 ‘ a Party from the Benefit of Liberty due to
 ‘ People in religious Matters, I am sure none
 ‘ have Reason to challenge it in behalf of the
 ‘ Papists, nor cause to complain if it be denied
 ‘ them.’ They have not only constantly re-
 fused to tolerate any other Persuasion, but,
 wherever they are Masters, they have murdered,
 massacred, and exterminated with Fire and
 Sword all that dissent from them on any score ;

* Some Reflections on a Discourse, called, Good Advice
 to the Church of *England*.

Nor

Nor was it ever known that any Popish Prince forbore persecuting his Protestant Subjects, or kept any Faith them, when he thought he might do it without running any Risk ; for they are made to believe that nothing must obstruct the Advancement of Holy Church. And here we may resolve Sir *William Coventry's* Subject of Admiration, which I question not but he knew himself very well, though he thought it safer at that time to let others divine than for himself to express it. * * I cannot hinder myself (*says he*) ' from a small Digression, to consider with Ad-
' miration that the old Lady of *Rome*, with all
' her Wrinkles, should yet have Charms able to
' subdue great Princes ; so far from handsome,
' and yet so imperious ; so painted, and yet so
' pretending. After having abused, deposed,
' and murdered so many of her Lovers, she still
' finds others glad and proud of their new
' Chains. A thing so strange to indifferent
' Judges, that those who will allow no other
' Miracles in the Church of *Rome*, must needs
' grant that this is one not to be contested ! She
' sits in her Shop, and sells at dear Rates her
' Rattles and Hobby-horses, whilst the deluded
' World still continues to furnish her with Cu-
' stomers.' But the Reason is plain, for the
Clergy of *Rome*, on condition that Princes estab-
lish their Power and extirpate Heresy, makes them
arbitrary over their Subjects, and, by Virtue of
their Influence on the Consciences of their Vo-
taries, they maintain this unjust Power as long
as Princes support their Usurpations over the
Laity. Whatever Occasion the Prince has for

* The Character of a Trimmer.

Money, the Priests can make it the Cause of the Church; and what the unlimited Power of the former could not discover, the spiritual Authority of the latter can easily produce, and make it be granted with a willing Mind. Such as these are the Advantages by which Princes are tempted to espouse the *Roman* Superstition; For though some Protestant Princes have actually set up arbitrary Power, and others have made large Steps that Way, yet the Principles of the Reformation are naturally against it, because the more Knowledge any People have the more they value Liberty, which makes them of course the less disposed to be Slaves, and therefore averse to Popery, which of all Tyrannies is the most irrational and insupportable. As it is harder therefore to bring Protestants under the Yoke than Papists, so it is more difficult to introduce Popery into a Commonwealth than into a Monarchy. A Commonwealth is never in Love, and so not to be seduced by fine Women; a Commonwealth is never a Minor, nor subject to the Doating of old Age; a Commonwealth has no Favourites, and cannot be deceived by Ministers to a Party; a Commonwealth cannot marry a Popish Queen, nor be bribed in the whole, which makes it difficult or useless to corrupt any Part: When a Commonwealth is stubborn it cannot be poisoned or assassinated; and the People are not disturbed by dubious Titles to the Succession, which in several Places entirely alters both Religion and Government. These are so many Dispositions wanting to favour the Machinations of the Papists, which is the Reason, that, when they despaired of seeing the Royal Family

Family restored, they were so earnest with *Oliver Cromwell* to make himself King; not caring who wore the Crown, on condition there were some Monarch on the Throne. And yet so besotted are some People by Education, Custom, or private Interest, that they are often heard to say, they would rather see *England* an absolute Monarchy than the most glorious Republick; as in the late Reigns they were taught to say, that they would sooner be Papists than Presbyterians. 'Tis well known that some great Men have quitted the Protestant Interest on such worldly and wicked Motives, and that Princes begin of late to find out this Secret of governing more than ever. The Elector of *Saxony* has quitted his Religion for the Crown of *Poland*, and constituted a Popish Stadtholder to protect the Confession of *Augsburg* in his own Country. There is a Popish Administrator in *Courland* during the Minority of the present Duke; before the King of *Denmark* had set a Popish Governor over his Capital City of *Copenhagen*, many People talked doubtfully of his Religion; but I hope the King of *Prussia* was unjustly suspected on the Account of his new Dignity; and that the ninth Electorate is no Bias on the Duke of *Hanover*. We all know the Barbarities executed on the Reformed both in *France* and in the *Palatinate*, with the Dangers that threaten them in many other Places of *Germany*: From which 'tis very plain, that we must now take vigorous Measures; both to keep the Balance of *Europe* steady, and to preserve the Protestant Interest. The Empire and *France* are the two great contending Powers, and, though we are less than either of them,

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yet we have often thrown the Scale on what Side we pleased; and seemed to be the greatest Figure of them all, in being Arbitrators of their Disputes, and the Disposers of their Fate. Time was when the common Good required our Opposition to the House of *Austria*, and the same Reason calls for us to side with it now against that of *Bourbon*, which, for a considerable Time, has bid fairest for the universal Monarchy. As King *James I.* was cajoled by the Arts of *Spain*, so the late Kings were become Pensioners to *France*, and could not head the Reformation abroad, when they were labouring with all their Might to set up Popery at home. But now we have a King who is known to be a zealous Protestant, bound by no Engagement or Inclinations to either of these Potentates, except as he finds himself directed by the Cause of Religion and Liberty. The only Men that would have us to continue unconcerned Spectators, are such as wish to see the *French* King powerful enough to impose what King on us he pleases, and perhaps to provide for us as he has done for *Spain*. But all others, of all Orders and Conditions, are for a War, even the Merchants themselves, who well know that it is much better for them to suffer some short Interruption in any Part of their Commerce, than to lose at once to a barbarous Enemy all they have already got, and the Hopes of ever getting any more. Wherefore I believe that no Force can be thought too great to be given the King by Sea, which is our natural Element, a sure Protection to our Trade, and the best Way to annoy our Foes either by bombarding their maritime Towns,
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ravaging their Coasts, destroying their Harbours, and burning their Ships, with the like Actions, best performed this Way. But the Fleet must be under some other Regulations, and Management than for several Years past, or the Success will be fatal, and the People unwilling to engage. What the united Force of the *Dutch* and us may perform in the Ocean, *Mediterranean*, and the *West-Indies*, is not hard to imagine. As for raising of Money, there is no question to be made but the Nation is richer than ever, and the People will readily advance the necessary Sums, on condition they be first convinced of the Necessity; next secured in the Credit on which they have lent so much before; and, lastly, be persuaded that what they give shall be applied to the Uses they design. 'Tis too ungrateful a Theme to revive the Memory of our past Mismanagements, though, I am afraid, the Impunity of those who have so wickedly imposed on the Publick, may encourage themselves and others to proceed again in the same cursed Practices: Nor is there any thing that damps the Spirit of the Nation more, than to see what vast Fortunes have been raised during the last War, and while the Nation was run so terribly in debt; not only by the great Officers, but even by the most beggarly, obscure, and worthless Wretches in subordinate or inferior Employments. But we shall be eased of a vast Charge, if the Parliament approves of the Project of some Merchants (successfully tried before by the *Dutch*) which is, that on the Government's bearing the tenth Part of the Charge, or thereabouts, they'll fit out a sufficient Number of Ships of Force, on condition

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they be let loose on the *West-Indies*, and not under the Necessity of receiving Orders from our Ministry, but to act where and when, as often and as vigorously as they can against the Enemy: Nor could such an Undertaking fail on many Accounts, especially considering the Assistance of Men, Ammunition, Provisions, and Ports, they must receive in those numerous Settlements we have already in *America*; all which, and a great many other Conveniencies, were wanting to the *Dutch*, when in the Infancy of their State, their Merchants made a piratical War on the *Spaniards* in the *East-Indies*, where they beat both them and the *Portuguese*, then, under one and the same Government. But the Scheme of this important Business will appear in a better light, when offered to publick Consideration by the Persons concerned. I must only hint to my Readers by the way, that supposing this Project be encouraged (for of its Practicableness there can be no Reason to doubt) then we are at liberty to act with all our united Force in the Ocean, in the *Mediterranean*, in the *Baltick*, or wheresoever besides there may be Occasion in *Europe*, without being obliged, as heretofore, to send any Squadrons to the other World. As for the Land Forces to be employed by us abroad in case of a War, I am not sure that the Parliament will be for any, the Bent of the Nation being altogether to have the Sea for our Share and Province of Action; but if it should be found necessary to send Troops to *Flanders*, or elsewhere, we may for our Money hire as many *Switzers*, *Germans*, or *Danes* as we please, and at a much easier Rate than *Englishmen* will serve.

Besides

Besides that hereby all the Disputes, Difficulty, or Envy of disbanding them is avoided, being to be paid and disarmed in another Country, where, if they should be unwilling to disperse, we are in no Danger to be hurt by them. Nor let any Person think that the Premisses are in the least inconsistent with what has been lately urged against keeping standing Armies on foot in time of Peace. I was one of that Opinion, and like to continue in it as long as I retain any Regard to Liberty, which will be as long as I live, or capable to make a true use of my Reason : But no-body sure was ever so weak as to think, that in time of War, whether we were to offend others, or defend ourselves, we could do either of these without a sufficient Force of one Sort or other. And here I would put certain Persons in mind of our Militia, with which they made no little Noise during the Contest about the Army ; but after it was once disbanded, we hear no more of arming and training all the Freeholders and Men of Property in *England*, which at that time was the modish Phrase. The making of our Militia useful has been hitherto opposed by two Sorts of Men, such as are neither for this nor an Army, because they would leave the Nation exposed to their Friends on t'other Side the Water ; and those who are for keeping us undisciplined and contemptible to shew the Necessity of mercenary Troops. I should be sorry to rank some People, of whom I have still a good Opinion, with either of these Parties ; but be this as it happens, I am confident the Parliament will allow no other new Forces but the Militia (as it is, or may be made) in *England*.

Now to return, if this be a Digression ; we have an Opportunity put into our hands, which we rather slipped, I hope, than neglected of late, to our great Danger and Infamy, I mean to make good Terms for the Protestants abroad. This is always expected from *England* as the Support and Head of the Reformation ; nor was it forgot even by the Usurper *Cromwell*. We need not question but that the Emperor, if we think fit to insist on it, will remit of his Severity against his own Subjects in *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and elsewhere : He can obtain the same thing of the Elector *Palatine*, and in other Places of *Germany* ; and Reasons of State at home, as well as the Necessity of our present Assistance, must induce him to this good Disposition. But if there should be a religious War, the Protestants will have Recourse to the victorious King of *Sweden*, as a second *Gustavus*, and Guarantee the Treaty of *Westphalia* ; for which Reason we ought as little to see that Prince stripped of his Dominions in *Germany*, as suffer the *French* to keep Possession of *Flanders*. If it be objected that the united Powers of *France* and *Spain* are formidable, that the Discontented are numerous at home, and that our Allies abroad are uncertain. To begin with the latter, we are sure at least of the *Dutch*, who are as hearty Enemies to *France*, and as zealous Friends to the Protestant Religion, as can be wished. As for the rest, let us remember that Queen *Elizabeth*, when the Papists were more numerous than both they and the Jacobites are now, without any foreign Allies but those who subsisted by her Power, in daily Fears of her Life from bloody Popish Assassins, and the Queen
of

of *Scotland* pretended a better Right to the *English* Crown; yet this incomparable Queen *Elizabeth* reduced her rebellious Subjects of *Ireland* to Obedience, kept all things quiet at home, supported the infant States of *Holland*, the King of *Navarre*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; she made War on the King of *Spain* in *Europe* and the *Indies*, promoted the Reformation at home and abroad, chose the ablest and wisest of her Subjects into her Ministry, and in all other Respects deserved that Veneration which is gratefully paid to her Memory. If under such Circumstances these glorious Atchievements, and more than I have mentioned, were performed by a Woman, how much greater Exploits may we promise ourselves from the present King, considering our Advantages above that Time. In Effect, all the Powers of *Europe* are now at a stand, the *Dutch* wait with Impatience the Resolutions of our Court, the two mighty contending Powers expect to have their Fate decided by the Oracles we shall please to utter, the Northern Crowns are ready to embrace our Interest, the Princes of *Italy* will declare when we encourage them, and even the Pope of *Rome* will take his Measures from the Parliament of *England*. This peculiar Greatness of being the Umpires of Princes, and inclining the Balance to the Side we favour, is owing to our happy Situation, the Liberty of our Government, our immense Trade and Wealth; but above all other Causes to the noble Genius of our People, notwithstanding what is no less impertinently than scandalously urged to the contrary in a Libel lately published, entitled, *The True-born Englishman*. 'Tis a strange

Way of making court to the King, to persuade him that his Subjects are not fit to be trusted, which is given for a Reason why he employs so many Foreigners; nor has my Lord *Portland*, the Hero of his Panegyrick, any great Reason to be thankful to the Author. What he says of our mixt Origin discovers his Ignorance, as well as his Malice, no Race being counted the worse for that, but rather to improve. There never was any Country, worth contending for, without such a Confluence of many Nations. The Inhabitants of *New Holland* may boast long enough of their pure Genealogies, without ever being the more esteemed; and those Nations in *Europe*, which are known to have the least Mixture, are the most inconsiderable and contemptible. What reflects on the last Parliament will not be left uncensured by the present; and the Justice of no wise Nation can ever suffer the Reputation of any private Man to be so handled as we find Sir *Charles Duncomb*; for the Party who laugh at it to day may be served in that Manner themselves to-morrow; since there are Poets, Wits, and hackney Pens enough to be hired on all Sides. But I have said too much perhaps on this Subject; and therefore I shall conclude this Chapter with an Answer to those who like a War the worse if the Court be for it; as suspecting they must have some private Ends to serve by it, and not design the Benefit of the Publick. For my part I dislike no good thing let the Courtiers be never so much for it, besides that the War cannot be the worse for their Concurrence, whatever it may be for their Manegament, since it is not impossible for them to be sometimes in the right, and that it is
always

always in our power to keep them to their good Behaviour if we please. But after all, I don't find that the Ministers are for a War, whatever may be the Sentiments of the King, who can never have any separate Interest from his People.

CH A P. IX.

The only Remedy against all the Mischief of Parties, is a Parliament equally constituted.

IN the fourth Chapter I have given some Arguments for stated annual Parliaments; I have there likewise declared my Thoughts about the best way of making our Representation equal, of preventing Bribery or Expences at Elections, and the Growth of private Pensioners. But till such or better Methods are legally established, we have no Hopes of preserving our ancient Constitution, our Liberty and Property, the Protestant Religion, or the present Government. Had these Thoughts been published (as they were intended) before the late Elections, I should have offered some Advice to the Electors to send those to represent them who would do themselves Honour, Service to their Country, and deserve the Praise and Imitation of Posterity. I hope in a little time we will all have good Reason to say, that they have made such a desirable Choice, which encourages me to add in this Place a Point or two of the highest Importance, which I purposely omitted in the fourth Chapter, and which, in my Opinion, might go very near to bring our Parliaments to the most perfect Constitu-

tion. The first of these is the Qualifying Bill, some Years ago past by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. Certainly none ought to be chosen for a County, but such as have either in Possession or Reversion a considerable Estate in it; nor for a Borough, except he be resident, or that he has some Estate in the County in present or Expectancy. That Bill provided none to be chosen Knights of the Shire under five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, nor for Boroughs who had not two Hundred Pounds *per Annum* some where within the County, with certain Conditions in favour of monied Men. And indeed how can it be expected that such as are perfect Strangers to a Place should understand the Grievances of it, or, grant they be truly informed, will they be so earnest or so much concerned to redress them, as those that have an Interest on the spot? I am apt to believe it was not the Reason of the Thing, but the Difficulty of otherwise passing the Bill, that allowed any Dispensations for monied Men without Land, and who consequently have no firm Pledge in *England* to answer for their Behaviour; but may, like Sir *William Brown* the other Day, remove their Effects into another Country in four and twenty Hours, and follow themselves the next Night. The Doors of the *Roman* Senate (as of all others well constituted among the Ancients) were shut against those who had not an Estate to a certain Value, on diminishing or spending of which they were removable out of the House by the *Censors*, and to be degraded from their Nobility. But to manifest the eternal Power of Reason and good Sense, long after their Liberty was destroyed; and

and that Beggars, Slaves, Players, Buffoons, Soldiers; and Barbarians, were created Senators by the tyrannical Emperors; yet under *Trajan* a good Prince, who would have restored the Commonwealth but that he durst not for the Army, the Senate actually resumed their ancient Privilege of restraining all Elections in Assemblies of Trust to Men of Estates in their Country. The manner is finely expressed by *Pliny* the younger (one of their Body) to his Friend *Nepos*; and because it does not only relate to this Qualification by Land, but also to Expences at Elections, I shall here insert the whole Letter both in *Latin* and *English*.

C. Plinius Nepoti. S. Lib. 6. Ep. 19.

“ **S**CIS tu pretium accessisse agris, præcipue
 “ suburbanis? Causa subitæ caritatis, res
 “ multis agitata sermonibus, proximis Comitibus
 “ honestissimas voces senatui expressit, Candida-
 “ ti ne conviventur, ne mittant munera, ne pe-
 “ cunias deponant, ex quibus duo priora tam
 “ aperte quam immodice fiebant: hoc Tertium,
 “ quanquam occultaretur, pro comperto habe-
 “ batur. *Homulus* deinde noster usus vigilanter
 “ hoc Consensu Senatus, sententiæ loco postu-
 “ lavit ut Consules desiderium universorum no-
 “ tum principi facerent, peterentque, sicut aliis
 “ vitiis, huic quoque providentiâ sua occurer-
 “ ret. Occurrit; nam sumtus Candidatorum
 “ fædos & infames ambitus Lege restrinxit;
 “ eosdem patrimonii tertiam partem conferre
 “ jussit in ea quæ solo continerentur: deforme
 “ arbitratus (ut erat) Honorem petituros, ur-
 “ bem, Italiamque, non pro patria, sed pro
 “ Hospitâlo

“ Hospitio aut Stabulo, quasi peregrinantes ha-
 “ bere. Concurfant ergo Candidati certatim :
 “ quicquid venale audiunt, emittant ; ut sit quo-
 “ que plura venalia, efficiunt. Proinde si pæ-
 “ nitet te Italicorum prædiorum, hoc venden-
 “ di Tempus tam hercule quam in provinciis
 “ comparandi, dum iidem Candidati illic ven-
 “ dunt ut hic emant. Vale.

Caius Pliny to Nepos, Health.

DO you know that the Price of Lands is
 risen, especially near this City. The Cause
 of this sudden Dearness, which is the Subject
 of much Discourse, did at the last Meeting of
 the Senate occasion several most excellent Speeches,
 importing, that the Candidates at Elections
 should neither treat, nor make Presents, nor
 lay out any Money. The two first of these
 Abuses were not, less excessively than openly
 practised ; and the third, notwithstanding the
 Care used to conceal it, was a Thing taken for
 granted. Now our Friend *Homulus*, having di-
 ligently improved this unanimous Agreement
 of the Senate, moved for a Resolution that the
 Consuls should be ordered to acquaint the
 Prince with the Desires of them all, and to
 pray him, that, according to his usual Vigi-
 lance, he would correct this as he had other
 Disorders. The Emperor assented : For he put
 a Stop to those base and infamous Expences of
 the Candidates, by a Law against canvassing,
 obliged them to qualify themselves by laying
 out on Land a third Part of their Estates ;
 esteeming it a very shameful Thing (as indeed
 it was) that such as are desirous of this Ho-
 nour

nour should live in *Rome* and *Italy*, not as in their Country, but as in a Lodging, or like Travellers in an Inn. The Candidates here-upon out-bid one another every where, and buy up whatever they are informed is to be sold: Insomuch that many now part with their Lands who did not think of doing it before. If you are weary therefore of your Farms in *Italy*, this is certainly your Time of putting them off to Advantage, as well as of buying in the Provinces; while the Candidates are selling there to purchase here.

Farewel.

LET this Example be followed, and we shall quickly see the good Effects of it in the Parliament, from whence they will naturally spread themselves all over the Nation. I will not insist on the Necessity of it now more than ever, the Reasons being obvious to Men of any Consideration; but this I dare venture to prophesy, that if the present Parliament will not do themselves the Honour of passing the Qualifying Act, that the next may think it the highest Duty they owe to their Country. It were likewise to be wished that the Elections in Boroughs should be all brought on one foot throughout the Nation; whereas now some are chosen by a select Number, some by all the Inhabitants, and others by those only who pay Scot and Lot. This is a constant Spring to furnish Matter for Petitions, and I have seen myself at Committees, Precedents alledged on both Sides for one and the same Place, which makes Elections uncertain, and to depend wholly on the Number and Affections of a Party.

The

The fairest way, in any unprejudiced Man's Opinion with whom I ever conversed, is to make all those to be the Electors who pay to Church and Poor; but this (as all the rest) is submitted to the Wisdom of his Majesty and both Houses, my Purpose being only to shew the Necessity of a Uniformity in this Case, without determining any thing as to the manner. Something has been done in former Parliaments, both for preventing undue Elections, and unqualified Persons getting into the House; yet since that time, Experience has shewn, that more effectual Methods are still wanting. I am not sure that what I have briefly offered in this and the fourth Chapter may be sufficient for this End, or that they will go any great way towards it; but were I Master of such Laws as should infallibly provide for the Choice of those Men whose Character I approve, they should be

- Persons of known Integrity and a clear Re-
- putation, able as well as ambitious to dis-
- charge their Duty; temperate and industrious,
- not unreasonable Spenders or Savers; true to
- the Cause of Liberty and the Protestant Re-
- ligion; independent of the Court in Places,
- Pensions or Expectations; neither violent
- Abettors of the late Kings, nor the stubborn
- Opposers no more than the slavish Prostitutes
- of his present Majesty; but moderate in all
- Times, and as much for the Toleration now,
- as then against Persecution; Men of a peace-
- able Disposition, not sworn to any Party or
- Faction; such as have competent Fortunes to
- secure them from Suspicion or Temptation,
- to maintain their Character untainted and al-
- ways the same. From such as these, or the

likeliest

likest them that can be found, may we reasonably expect all those Laws which are yet wanting to improve and settle our civil Constitution, to bring us into a better Temper or Union in all our Differences, to make the Militia useful, restore the Reputation of the Fleet, increase Trade, encourage Manufactures, maintain our Glory abroad, reform our Manners at home, and render us at once the Terror and Envy of the World. Such as these will not be frightened out of their Duty by the Frowns, nor bribed by the Favours of a Monarch; as they would not be seduced by the general Applause, so they cannot be moved by popular Hatred; they will own the rightful Cause when attended with the most unreputable or dangerous Circumstances, and in all Conditions prove constant as well as affectionate Lovers of their Country.

CONCLUSION.

I Could say much more on all the foregoing Heads, and perhaps with greater Advantage to the Subject, and my own Reputation; but in this strange Conjuncture of Affairs, it is the most I could do in a few Days Retirement, nor was that little Time without some interruptions. Provided the Matter has in any degree the Effects intended, I shall be the less concerned for any want of Art which Haste may occasion in the Performance; and if this Parliament be of that healing Disposition, which all
 true

true Patriots most heartily desire, something may be offered that may not be altogether impracticable nor unsatisfactory towards abolishing those fatal Distinctions of Whig and Tory, and making us at least bear with one another in Religion, where we cannot agree. Such a Piece must be without all Resentment, or shewing any more Approbation of one side than another. It is confessed I have been obliged to follow some what a different Conduct on the present Occasion, because the Parties are not yet calmly disposed to an Accommodation, but rather more violently inflamed than for a long while past; nor would it be difficult, were it as safe or seasonable, to discover by what Intrigues, and to serve what Ends, their Heats are revived. Though both Factions are in several Things to be equally blamed, yet I believe there is no body who does not imagine one of them to be more in the right than the other: And I have not disguised in this whole Discourse, which of them has most Reason in my Opinion; though without palliating their Faults, or charging those unjustly whom I hold to be most in the wrong. Did I follow my natural Inclination I should be always for a Neutrality, and I promise to be a very indifferent Judge when the critical Opportunity presents itself; but when there is a Sedition in the City, I think (with *Solon*) it ought to be Capital for a Man to remain an unconcerned Spectator, but that he should be necessitated to engage on the side he most approved, as the fittest means to appease the Tumult, or to keep the best Party from being over-powered. I shall end with one Passage of *Roman History* very applicable, both to the present

present Transactions, and likewise to the unthankful Part I bear in hoping to reconcile them. Some Veteran Legions were the firm Adherents of *Julius Caesar*, and yet after his Death did considerable Service to the common Cause of Liberty against *Anthony*; but they became insolent by this new Credit, and were for making use of it to as bad Purposes as when they were the Creatures of the Tyrant. *Cicero* (who making a due Allowance for Times and Persons) engaged in the same Work that I do now, yet expected so little good Effects of his Endeavours, that in one of his Speeches, he had these Expressions. ‘ What! are we to have no Apprehensions of the Veterans? for certainly they have no Desire themselves to be feared. But in what part will they take my Severity? for they have heard many false Things reported of me, and were told a World of Stories by villainous Informers. And yet, as you are very true Witnesses, I have always promoted their Good by my Opinion, Interest, and Eloquence. But they believe wicked Persons, they believe turbulent Fellows, they believe the Creatures of their own Faction. It is true, they are brave, yet somewhat too fiercely valuing themselves on the Memory of those Things they have lately done for the Liberty of the Roman People and the Safety of the Commonwealth, and they are endeavouring to turn all our Counsels to the strengthening of their own Party. Indeed I fear not their Policy, though I dread their Violence. But if I should likewise escape such great Dangers as these, yet do you think that my Return can be safe? ‘ For

* For when I defend myself by your Author-
 * rity, and after my usual manner, and shew
 * both my Love and Constancy to the Com-
 * monwealth, then shall I have Reason to fear
 * not only those who hate me, but those also
 * who envy me.



F I N I S.

